

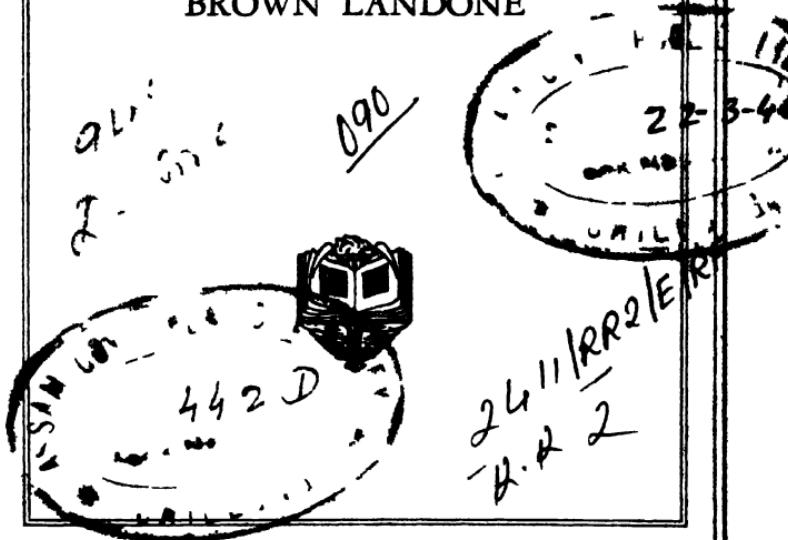
CIVILIZATION and ART SERIES

GREECE and ROME

VOLUME II

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

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Religion and Thought

GREECE and Rome, the earliest representatives of European civilization, the ancient classical nations, will always hold for us a peculiar charm. To them we are under great and permanent obligations, for though the stream of culture has broadened and deepened since their glory waned, receiving the mighty tributaries of Christianity and of modern science and invention, yet it must trace its origin to Athens and to Rome. They have left us deeds of patriotism that have never been surpassed. They have given us an inestimable heritage in the realms of philosophy, science and government; in literature, works of genius and universal worth; and in architecture and sculpture, inspiration for all time.

We find it difficult to believe that the Greeks were a branch of the same stock as the Persians, that in a sense they were heirs to all Oriental culture, for in all salient points of national character they differed so essentially from those who had gone before.

Greece, the most eastern of the three peninsulas of Europe that project into the Mediterranean sea, was naturally the first European country to develop a civilization showing the influence of the Orient. The Ægean sea, with its numerous small islands, lying between the Grecian coast and that of Asia Minor, proved no barrier but rather a highway for communication and for travel. Phœnicia had taken possession of a number of these islands, which served as stepping stones over which Eastern civilization was carried into Greece proper. What a contrast this small country presents to those great valley lands peopled by Orientals, broken as it is by mountain ranges and small valleys drained by innumerable little streams. Its irregular outline, quite as diversified as its surface, gave opportunity for harbors and promoted the commercial spirit. The broken reliefs of the land separated the people into distinct communities and led to the establishment of small states, hence to the development of a spirit of freedom and local independence, and yet because of the comparative smallness of the entire land, to a truer unity than was possible in the vast Oriental countries which at the same time lacked the variety given by the small units.

The temperate, changeable climate was conducive to progress. The soil was not so fertile but that it required skill and constant care to be

made to produce the wheat, barley, flax and grapes that we know the ancient Greeks did produce. In the north were forests of pine and oak and in the south orange and lemon trees and date palms. The skies were brilliant, the landscapes varied and beautiful, and from no point of the land was the sea far distant, inviting them to explore other shores and come in contact with other people. All this tended to the development of an alert, observant, joyous people and to the growth of a fine and esthetic taste.

Just a few words now to recall to mind of what their heritage really consisted, and how it was carried to this land. Through our review of Oriental culture we were enabled to distinguish certain periods and successive stages which marked the course of historic development. We have seen the Orientals leave the nomadic life, develop agriculture, industries and forms of government, cities, kingdoms and empires. From crude forms of animal or ancestral worship we have found they developed religion to a polytheistic nature-worship, and finally to a monotheistic worship like that of the Hebrews.

The ancient Oriental nations gave us the foundations of astronomy and mathematics. They made remarkable progress in the art of writing and acquired great ability and a certain amount of taste in architecture, sculpture and the minor arts.

It was, in fact, from the Orient that we received the rudiments of civilization and of culture, but it remained for others to break the confining bonds which kept them from creating a free and hence progressive spirit. Egypt, India and China were vanquished or retarded by their religious conceptions, Assyria and Persia by too vast social organizations, and the Phoenicians were too deeply concerned with the industrial and commercial to develop any original and durable works of art.

The successive conquests of Syria by Egypt and Babylonia led to the composite form of culture of Phoenicia, preserving Babylonian and Egyptian features in religion and art. The conquest of Egypt by Assyria brought Egyptian civilization into relation with Mesopotamian culture, and Persian conquests brought the various centers of culture throughout the Orient into communication with one another. This eastern civilization was destined, by the very law of growth, to find its way into the Occident, which was to become the home of reason, the destroyer of tradition and of superstition.

This transition from the Occident to the Orient was made through Phoenician sea traffic and the land traffic of the people of Asia Minor. The earliest inhabitants of Greece known to us, the Pelasgians, form the connecting link. Very little is known of them except that their civilization was

Oriental in character and was probably at its height at the time of the Trojan war. The Hellenes or Greeks proper were an off-shoot or development from the Pelasgians. The few remains of the buildings of the Pelasgians were made of immense blocks of stone and were, in Greek tradition, said to have been built by the Cyclops, a race of giants.

The religion of the early Greeks was pantheistic and was essentially nature worship, distinguished by the great number of its deities as well as by the wealth and beauty of biographical detail which the imagination of the poets in time provided for them. The great gods who dwelt in Olympus were twelve in number. The males were Zeus, lord of the sky, and ruler of all other gods as well as men; Poseidon, god of the sea; Apollo, the divinity of wisdom, of healing, music and poetry, and later the sun god; Ares, god of war; Hephaestus, god of fire and of things wrought by fire, unlike the other gods in that he was lame and ugly of visage; Hermes, the god of invention, commercial skill, cunning and bravery. The female divinities were Hera, consort of Zeus; Athena, the maiden goddess sprung from the head of Zeus, the embodiment of wisdom; Artemis, the goddess of hunting, afterward connected with the moon as Apollo was with the sun; Aphrodite, goddess of sensual love; Hestia, goddess of fire, and Demeter, the earth mother, presiding over agriculture.

There were also many goddesses of lower rank, such as the Graces, the Muses, the Fates, and the Furies. The fields and forests and the waters of the land and sea were crowded with Nymphs and Naiads, while creatures of still lower order, like the Satyrs, and monsters like the Cyclops, Gorgons and Centaurs, abounded. Reverence was also given to the heroes, which were idealizations of famous men, real and imaginary, such as Cadmus and Heracles.

The gods were worshiped by invocation and by sacrifices, which could be performed anywhere. There were, however, permanent altars for all the divinities, where the figure of the divinity was enshrined. These temples were usually erected on lofty sites and upon their building and decoration was devoted the highest skill in architecture and sculpture. The regularly recurring festivals held at fixed locations, such as the Olympian, were centers of Greek national life. There were secret religious societies and regularly recurring religious conferences, and the people were much given to the consultation of oracles. The ideas of the future life were vague and shadowy, and undoubtedly a few of the more advanced minds among the Greeks came to the belief of the essential singleness of divinity.

It is well that we early gain an understanding of the religious beliefs of the Greeks and we will take the subject up at this point, although

the development of their religious beliefs was continuous and extended throughout their history.

The first point to be borne clearly in mind is that the Greek conception of religion was entirely different from anything that we understand or experience to-day under the same title. What we to-day have in mind when we speak of our religion is a more or less definite series of doctrines, usually formulated into a creed and controlled by a definite organization. This religious organization has shown a steady tendency in our time to more and more definitely separate itself from all authority or connection with the state.

Among the Greeks there was no church and there was no creed or confession of faith as we think of the terms. The distinction that we know between priest and layman, as there was no priestly class, did not exist. So that it at once becomes clear that the Greek conception of religion was very different from everything that we to-day think of when we use the word.

We must also keep in mind that the list of the Greek gods and goddesses and the accounts of their sayings and doings, which seem to us to-day so childish, were to the Greeks facts of positive belief, a very positive part of their everyday mental life.

Only a glance at the condensed list of the Greek deities already given shows that their belief

was based upon an effort to interpret nature. Everything that was vague and intangible to the prehistoric man was put into form by the Greeks, so that man was no longer confronted by blind, inexplicable forces, but by intelligent spiritual beings, controlled by passions just exactly like his own.

Man was no longer in the presence of fearful and unknown powers, but associated with gods who were like himself; whose actions could be influenced, and whose decisions could be modified. And as he personalized and deified the forces of nature about him, so he personalized and deified the controlling forces within him, such as love, music, and the other arts. In this way his religion exemplified the Greek individual's esthetic promptings and attitude toward nature.

His religion, however, went further than this, and as time went on came to more and more dominate his relation toward other men and toward society. The fact that there was no church, in our understanding of the term, must not be mistaken as meaning that the Greek state did not recognize religion, or had nothing to do with it. The fact was just the opposite. Just as the individuals of the state considered themselves to be in intimate daily association with the gods, so they considered their state as under the special care of various divinities.

All students of Greek life agree that the greatest weakness of the Greek civilization was its

entire failure to ever combine the small, independent states into a single permanent nation. The religion of the Greeks, by means of festivals and games, was the great holding and binding power between the small states that would otherwise have deteriorated or become the prey of outside forces. The subject of these games and festivals we will take up later.

While the Greek's religion made him at home in the world and provided him with a basis for society, as well as a common basis of meeting the citizens of other Greek states, it utterly failed, at least in the earlier days of Greece, to do the one thing that we of to-day expect of all religion. It entirely failed to provide him with a standard by which he could measure the attitude of his conscience. In fact, it did not bother itself with his conscience at all. The Greek gods had all the frailties and weaknesses of human beings. Their actions, judged by our standards to-day, were many of them unmentionable. Worse than that, so far as the Greek was concerned, the conduct of their gods was not fixed but variable, and as a consequence a complicated system of omens and oracles was built up in order that some understanding of the wishes or intentions of the gods might be secured.

We have no knowledge of the source from which the Greeks came by their ideas of sacrifice and atonement, except the general foundation of

primitive man's attempt to propitiate the unseen forces about him by means of some sort of offerings. Their faith in sacrifices and oracles was the least rational or attractive side of their belief. Their thought seems to have been primitive in this. A gift, in the mind of the savage, always deserves a present in return, valuable in proportion to the possessions of the one receiving the gift. This was apparently the controlling motive of the Greeks in their sacrifices.

When they sacrificed to the gods it was with the expectation that the gods, gifted with more than human power, would return to them benefits many times in excess of the value of the sacrifice. Their entire system of sacrifices was based, not on an internal consciousness of wrong-doing, but on a belief in the external physical power of the gods. While many of their sacrifices were unquestionably symbolical, they were based, not on the hope of an inward spiritual regeneration, but on the hope of outward material benefits. Their thought of their relationship with the gods was not spiritual but material. The sacrifice was a sort of bargain and had nothing to do with the conscience; having sacrificed to the gods, they felt that they had a right to expect generous treatment from them.

They had no conception of a doctrine of forgiveness of sins and if they escaped any of the tragedies of life sent them by the fates, it was be-

cause their sacrifices were acceptable to some one of the gods, who consequently intervened to aid or save them.

In an effort such as this to summarize and generalize, we are in constant danger of omitting essentials. So in our desire to make a clear and short statement of Grecian religious belief, we have so far omitted all reference to their philosophy, a direct outgrowth from their religion, which reached its highest development in Plato, the pupil of Socrates. His teachings have held their place for centuries as the finest precepts of essential truth conceived by the human mind and surpassed only by those of Jesus Christ. Plato died 348 B. C., and by his time there had developed among thinkers a very positive belief in a definite future existence, a constant questioning of the old worship and, among some, a tendency towards mysticism.

We have seen that the entire religious belief of the Greeks was based upon an effort to account for the phenomena of nature and mind. Certain minds try to explain all things by reason, another type of mind turns for comfort from reason to mysticism. The reconciling of these two mental impulses, so widely different, has ever been one of the most serious problems of religion. Nevertheless, the essential difference between the Greek religion and Christianity was that the former was external while the latter was spiritual.

In her golden days, when Greece attained her highest intellectual and artistic achievements, there came a time of inquiry and scepticism. The old religious ideals were still accepted by the mass of people and were carefully observed, but the thinkers questioned. They saw clearly that many of the legendary acts of the gods were not only unreasonable but actually bad. The intelligence and moral judgment of these thinkers was too keen and clear to accept such standards, and much of the best in later Greek literature and philosophy was an attack upon these popular beliefs. The best minds could not accept the common standards and there was constant friction, so that many of the great thinkers suffered banishment and death in this early struggle between independent thought and religion.

The remarkable thing is that those early times knew men of such strength of character and independence of thought that they could break away from the ties of tradition. This is one of the distinctions of Greece. By the Fifth century B. C. all Greece, and particularly the city of Athens, was familiar with independent thinking. Everywhere there were sceptics who questioned not only the religious and ethical beliefs current among the people, but the constitution of the states and the social conditions of the time. It was at this time of great mental activity and its accompanying un-

belief that thinkers turned to the system of philosophy founded by Socrates and elaborated by Plato, for inspiration. This philosophy provided a positive with which to combat the general negative. It was accepted as a substitute by thinkers of the time for the religious belief which was being proven incorrect and unsatisfactory.

Greece produced a religion which explained the mysteries of nature in a way satisfactory to her early peoples and primitive minds. The philosophy which superseded this religion in the minds of thinkers was of the highest nobility and purity, but at its best failed to entirely satisfy concerning the great mysteries, and life, death, and a hereafter.

The religion of a people is particularly valuable in helping to arrive at some idea of their general intellectual development and their attitude toward their fellows. We have seen that their religion gave the Greeks no conception of sin as we understand it. Their religion was founded on a collection of beautiful legends, and even Plato said: "Virtue will be a kind of health and beauty and a good habit of the soul, and vice will be a disease and deformity and sickness of it."

There was no thought here of the struggle between the opposing forces of good and evil. It is considered simply the wise and natural thing to do to seek virtue, just as it is the wise and natural thing to do to seek health. It sounds very easy

and rational. The endless fight between good and evil had no place in their religion. To the Greeks no passions or desires were bad; the badness entered in the excessive use of them. The words "Nothing in excess" were carved over the entrance to the temple at Delphi.

Aristotle made this the basis of his entire system of ethics. He taught that virtue was the middle ground which lay between the extremes of vice on either hand. Thus, courage was the perfect balance between foolhardiness on one hand and cowardice on the other; generosity, the balance between extravagance and meanness. He goes into the matter in detail and analyzes all sorts of action on this principle. According to him, there are no hard and fast rules of personal conduct. Each man shapes his life to this "Good" and in proportion as he departs from it he is bad or unwise. The elements of human nature are neither good nor bad. They are simply materials from which good or bad may be developed.

Plato takes this typically Greek idea and makes it his own. He constantly regards virtue as a kind of order. He says: "The virtue of each thing comes to it not by chance, but as the result of the order and truth and art that are imparted to it." "The just man will so regulate his own character as to be on good terms with himself."

Life is not looked upon here as a never-ending conflict between good and evil, but as a study in harmony; a thing of high individual standards that are rational and desirable, but in no way imposed on the mass of people by a sense of right and wrong. The strong man practised temperance in all things, not as a matter of duty and with no thought whatever of his influence and relationship with others, but that by means of this temperance he might arrive at the highest form of personal enjoyment.

The excellent man, then, was the one who most completely succeeded in so applying reason to his daily life that he was moderate in his enjoyment of all things.

It must be borne in mind that this was the standard of but a small class, a small minority of soldier-citizens. Below and under the leadership of this class was the great mass of free men, artisans and slaves, who were not considered as entering into the possibilities of these philosophies.

Socrates was called by Plato "the wisest, the justest and best of all the men that I have ever known." He departed from the Athenian ideal in that he was ugly of feature and ungainly of body and had no care or thought for riches, but his was the highest thought of the period. In his wanderings about the city of Athens he gave point to his beliefs by cross-questioning those with whom he

came in contact on such subjects as justice, temperance and piety.

That his influence was considered ominous by those in authority is proven by the fact that he was condemned to death for teaching scepticism and undermining authority. That his influence was in no way paramount is equally well proven by the fact that the death sentence was carried out as ordered without any popular outcry or disturbance, so that the teachings of Socrates and Plato concerning the proper attitude of the individual toward life can only be accepted as an ideal toward which some were persuaded to approach.

Just how much they influenced the daily life of the people is difficult to measure. Nevertheless, the ideal stands and it is not for us to-day to make any very severe comment on the failure, twenty-five hundred years ago, of a people to attain the ideals set for them by some of the greatest thinkers the world has ever known.

Social Conditions

WE have seen that in the ancient Oriental nations there had developed a fixed standard of marriage and with it certain protection to women, but that protection was indirect, coming to her because it was originated for her husband. Her true position was not to be distinguished from that of a slave and the resemblance of the laws applied to both is striking. Let us now see what the position of woman came to be in Greece.

There is nothing in the entire Grecian view of life which so distinguishes it from the modern as their attitude toward woman. The Greek view was that woman was in all things inferior to man. Basically women were looked upon and trained as of vital importance as a means of producing healthy children for the state. This was particularly true in Sparta, where the child was taken over and trained by the state. Sickly and deformed children were exposed to die. Well formed and healthy ones were placed under.

the care of the state without regard to family ties. This view of subordination of the individual and family to the state was characteristic of all the Greek states, where the concern was with the proper rearing and care of the new citizen.

Under this practice the position of woman could not be anything but secondary. She was to weave, cook, manage the household and bear children. We know of no sense of romance in connection with marriage. It was a subject of bargain and prearrangement between fathers in which the woman had no more part than she did in her husband's affairs in after life. The man's place was out of doors in the affairs of life, the woman's place was within doors.

Even Plato puts "children, women and servants" together in the order given in the quotation. Euripides' promulgation that "It is proper for women who are wise to let men act for them in everything" reads startlingly like a present day anti-feminist fulmination.

The quality of birth and fortune was considered desirable to marriage and in Athens the marriage of an Athenian man or woman to a foreigner was not recognized as legitimate by the state.

The woman's position after her marriage was considered important in proportion to the size of her dowry and for this reason daughters of men of the upper class who had lost their possessions

were at times provided with a dowry by the state or friends. The dowry was evidently given greater consideration than the woman herself. There was a betrothal witnessed by the parents which always preceded the marriage. The proper age for marriage was approximately twenty for girls and thirty for men, although there was no law or rule making this obligatory. The marriage itself was preceded by offerings to the gods and the day of the marriage filled in with feasting, where the bride sat between the bridegroom and the best man in her father's house. At dusk a procession was formed which marched to the home of the groom. There were numberless customs connected with the ceremonies but modern writers seem to question whether there was any serious thought of consecration.

A woman of good family was at no time of her life without a guardian, who was a male relative and who retained his care of her affairs even after her marriage. If she became a widow this guardianship was transferred to her grown son if she had one. The dowry remained in this indirect way the property of the wife who, if divorced, took the dowry with her. She had no right or claim of any kind on her husband's property. All a man had to do to divorce his wife was bid her give up her household keys and return her dowry to her, while divorce for her was so difficult to obtain as to be almost beyond consideration.

Woman's position was entirely subordinate. Her life was narrow and trivial, but in this narrow sphere she was treated with respect and kindness. Her interest was in her house and children and she was not encouraged to go about except on certain public occasions, when her presence was provided for and expected. She had her own religious festivals and was always present at wedding feasts.

The man lived a life apart and but little of his time was spent in his own home. He rose at daylight, did the marketing, followed by slaves who carried his purchases home. Whether rich or poor, if a citizen, he met on the streets, in the baths, and at the law courts, other citizens as a social equal. Standards of wealth in no way governed their association. The wealthy man simply had a larger leisure and more time to devote himself to public affairs. The mere gaining of money was left to outlanders, as the Greek was more interested in other things. He had been too severely disciplined and came in contact with too many kinds of men; his sense of humor and good taste were too predominant, to make him a poser. Constant insistence was placed on reserved, quiet tastes.

Slavery was practised throughout Greece but no nation in the ancient world, save the Jews, treated their slaves so well. The slave was a subordinate, but was considered a member of the family

and wore no distinguishing mark of any kind. If abused or cruelly treated, the slave could appeal to the authorities to be sold to another master. Slavery was considered a part of the natural order of things and no voice in Greece was ever raised against it, even at a time when all other public and private questions, even the limited rights of women, were lampooned in the comedies. Conquered soldiers were frequently slaughtered mercilessly. The inhumanity of such treatment of the vanquished did not enter into the Greek conscience and it was not until long after the beginning of the Christian era that the victor realized that he had any sort of obligation toward the vanquished. On the other hand, we have no record of the Greeks ever massacring women or children. They were taken into slavery but were not harshly or roughly handled. The result of the universal practice of slavery in Greece was that every free citizen had something to be proud of.

It is only fair, in considering the position of Greek women, to quote from Plato when he says: "Natural gifts are to be found here and there, in both sexes alike; and so far as her nature is concerned, the woman is admissible to all pursuits as well as the man; though in all of them the woman is weaker than the man." But Plato, we must remember, was a theorist. Actually the woman in Greece was at best an exalted servant; at the worst, a slave.

Her condition was no better than that of her sisters in the Oriental nations we have already discussed. Greece, despite her marvelous development in many different and widely divergent directions, seems to have failed to even sense the possibilities of woman's development. This is not to be wondered at when we stop to think that those possibilities are just beginning to open up to us to-day.

The most ideal relationship between individuals in Greece was that existing between friends. The beauties of friendship between men were constantly extolled by Greek writers of both prose and poetry. This binding of man to man comes more nearly to our present day understanding of romance than anything else in Greek life. We have seen that love was not considered a necessity in connection with married life. With them affection took a different direction and form. Friendship between men has been called an institution in Greece.

They developed a method of education which gave each boy into the charge of another young man. These relationships, recognized by custom and law as an important part of the educational system, naturally ripened into strong friendships. This custom was predominant in Sparta, where each boy was attached to one older than himself who was responsible for his education and conduct. He became the boy's companion and model

and was subject to punishment if his charge fell below certain standards or broke certain rules. This same custom was followed in many of the other cities and Greek legend and history is full of accounts of the devotion of these friends.

When the schooling was finished, the friends entered active life together, working and fighting side by side, sharing equally good and ill fortune alike. The relationship was not only one of externals, for there is constant reference to the unity of friends in aspirations and emotions. It was a union for mental and spiritual uplift as well as for material advantage. This attitude is unquestionably idealized by Greek writers, but that very fact shows that it was held in high esteem, and many of the writers, particularly Socrates, were constant in their insistence on friendship as a promoter of noble and heroic life. Plato argues that the love of man for man is higher than the love of man for woman, maintaining further that among tyrants this kind of education was discouraged as dangerous to the tyrant's power, being impossible to the nature and quality of slaves.

These statements of the standards of religion, ethics and personal conduct are taken from the writings of the greatest thinkers that Greece produced. They were the ideals of a civilization as great in some directions as any that the world has ever known, but their actual application was to a

very limited class of privileged persons possessed of wealth and leisure.

This small class approached these ideals in their daily life, and as a result there lived in those days men who are still recognized as among the great leaders in human thought.

The great drawback to all of the teaching was that it was intensely individualistic. It resulted in the development of a few men to a point of wisdom and balance which has never since been surpassed, but there was no thought of applying these ideals to the great mass of citizens; no effort made to educate the mass up to the ideals.

At the time of Athens' greatest intellectual and artistic splendor she was ruled by a small oligarchy of brains and wealth superimposed upon a great body of small land owners, tradesmen, artisans and slaves. All of these were regulated and cared for by laws carefully adjusted to conditions. No effort was made to do more than ameliorate the conditions under which they lived, and these betterments were in fact usually brought about by force of uprisings and revolutions. There was no systematic, direct effort made to improve the mass of the people mentally and morally.

The inherent weakness even for the few was that their culture was intellectual, not moral. They killed Socrates for being too persistently and aggressively moral. They banished Aristides, whom

they call "The Just," for being too persistently just. He who would more fully understand the Athenian mind should study the life of Aristides' rival, Themistocles. He was a man of wealth and education but a politician in the lowest meaning of the word; a trimmer who throughout his public career was constantly playing opposing parties against each other for his personal advantage; an individualist whose aims were personal pleasure and aggrandizement. It is not well that in our admiration for her philosophy, literature and art, which are our great heritages from Greek life, we allow ourselves to be blinded to the limitations of that life.

Education

THERE was in the Greek mind something of a superior quality, the reason for which no one seems to have given, which even in the earliest times, demanded the education of the young.

The children in Sparta, being considered the property of the state, were educated under its care and at its charge. The education of the Athenian boy was the father's duty and if he failed in it he could not later call upon his son for support or assistance. Boys were more desired than girls, but both were considered the property of the father, who could dispose of them as he saw fit. He might sell them into slavery or even take them when quite small to the Temple and there abandon them. They then became the property of any one who wished to undertake their care and were reared as servants or slaves.

Until about seven years of age the boys and girls were treated alike and kept in the women's quarters. The girls were from that time on trained in cooking, weaving and the care of the household.

Little or no thought was given to their mental training and it is a question if many of the girls of even the wealthiest families were taught to read.

The boy, taken from the women, was given into the care of an old servant or slave who took him to and from school, trained him in good manners and was responsible for his general deportment. He was in no sense the lad's schoolmaster but was expected to teach him to conduct himself properly in public and toward parents and elders. The boy was to obey him and be seen, not heard; and if careless or thoughtless was disciplined. The rod was not spared.

The primary school was not free, but conducted for pay by a man usually of the type who had seen better days. His position was not one of honor, but he was looked down upon as being unable to do anything more important than teach children. Here the boy was taught his alphabet and how to write, while there was constant stress laid upon proper pronunciation, the Athenian looking upon purity of pronunciation as one of the fine requisites of an educated man. The general plan of teaching covered reading and writing, the memorizing of poetry, vocal and instrumental music, arithmetic and drawing, while the greatest stress of all was given to physical development.

The memorizing of the poets and the study of music was for the cultivation of sensibility and

appreciation rather than with any thought of performance. The musical instrument used was the lyre, which was used for accompanying the chanting of poetry. Wind instruments were not considered fitting for amateurs and were reserved for professionals, as the contortion of the facial muscles in playing wind instruments was considered unseemly. The boy was also taught to swim and dance:

The regular education was finished at sixteen, and throughout the time of study, discipline was severely enforced by physical punishment. The entire course of study had to be paid for and as a consequence was followed more largely by the sons of the well to do than by others, but there are records of poor youths who obtained an education by working for it.

At eighteen, when the youth became of age, he was registered as a citizen and given the oath of loyalty and obedience to the state. He was then put under military training, living and working with other cadets of his own age, first near the city, where he was drilled and initiated into the use of his weapons. Finally he was sent to the frontier, where he was further instructed in tactics, in digging trenches and in siege and defense operations.

The training and disciplining of the body was carried along with the mental instruction. The Greek looked upon the body, mind and soul as a whole and if one was neglected all were regarded as

suffering. So throughout Greek literature we find continual references to the esthetic and moral value of bodily training. The physical exercises were divided into three general classes. The first, which began with the boy's early mental training, were simple and intended to promote general development of the body and limbs. Later, play exercises were introduced which brought the boys together in groups for competition. The final class of exercises were those in which youths and grown men took part in individual competitions.

There were buildings provided for all these purposes, which were eventually elaborated into large gymnasiums with private rooms for individual instruction, showers and swimming pools, and open spaces for contests, with seats provided for spectators. These buildings, in Athens, were supported partially by the city and partially by private endowment, but fees were charged for all services and popular instructors or prominent professionals earned large sums by teaching and were held in much higher esteem than were the teachers in the mental branches.

The buildings and instructors were under the charge of supervisors whose position was one of honor and authority, for which they were expected to pay by providing for certain expenses, arranging for processions in the honor of notables and being responsible for the general conduct of those trained there.

The foot race was the earliest of the competitive games and always came first in any series of competitions. Boys and girls, youths and grown men contested in these races; the younger in short races for speed, the others in races so long that they were severe tests of endurance. There were races in full armor for the cadets and young soldiers. Where there were a number of contestants places were chosen by lot and the race run in groups, the victors in each group entering the finals. The rules were exact and any effort at winning by trickery was severely punished. Torch races were held in the same manner at night, each of the racers bearing a lighted torch. The object of the race was not only to be the first at the goal, but to arrive there with a lighted torch.

Leaping came next, all varieties being practiced in the gymnasium. The javelin was used for vaulting just as a pole is with us, and there were specially shaped stones and pieces of metal which were swung to add to the impulse of the leaper.

Wrestling was third in the series and here professional training entered into the instruction to a greater degree than in any other form of sport. Wrestling required not only great strength but great skill, and from what we can learn from the sculpture and vase decorations, their skill and resource in the various styles of wrestling was great. They were apparently allowed a wider latitude in

employing some of the strangle holds, but the general principles were the same as with us to-day.

The fourth style of exercise was the hurling of the diskos, a Grecian form of throwing weights, the distance covered by the diskos determining the victory. The fifth of the exercises was the hurling of a staff or javelin for distance and accuracy. These five exercises, which form a comprehensive test of endurance and all around bodily development, were grouped together into the pentathlon, the grand prize going to the winner of the greatest number of points in all five contests.

There remain two other contests which should be considered: boxing and horse racing. Boxing was made dangerous by the method used to protect the hands and came to be followed as a consequence almost entirely by professionals. The hand and forearm were bound about with leather thongs reinforced by bits of iron and lead, so that a well delivered blow of a fist so reinforced was deadly dangerous. The statues show that the bodies and faces of boxers were cruelly scarred, although the rules governing fouls were severe.

The racing of horses, both ridden and driven to chariots, was much practiced by men of wealth. The emphasis was put upon the man who rode or drove a winning race rather than upon the animals, but here again we must modify a generalization, for the horses were broken and trained by

professionals and many times raced by them as well. The chariot was two-wheeled, padded on the inside and occupied only by the driver, who handled four horses just as is done in our circus races to-day.

Constant care was devoted to the body and all of the games were intended as a preparation for warfare. After exercise and before the bath, the oil with which the body had been anointed was removed by means of a scraper or strigilis. This was an instrument of metal, bone or wood, flat and smooth, which was passed over the body and limbs, and is shown again and again in statues and vase decorations. Great attention was given to the bath and after the bath the body was kneaded and rubbed in order to remove all possibility of soreness or stiffness. A large portion of the citizen's day was taken up with his exercises and bath, and without any exaggeration the Greek's life might be said to have centered around the gymnasium.

Information regarding the Greek house is scanty. Other things were given much attention in his literature and one of the reasons why we know that he gave little attention to home life is that accounts or descriptions of his home are few and meager, so that of the more intimate things of their domestic life but little is to be learned. The Greeks developed their architecture along public lines, devoting their attention to temples and public buildings. There were no palaces, as is later Rome, and

their private dwellings were modest and unpretentious. We know that there was a courtyard surrounded by a colonnade about which the chambers and living rooms were arranged, but there are no remains of these private homes, all having been demolished to furnish building materials for the more modern buildings which have taken their places.

Our knowledge of the interior furnishings and fittings of their homes is based upon the utensils deposited in early graves and on the vase drawings, which are a rich source of knowledge concerning their everyday life. Household furniture of various kinds is also shown in the bas-reliefs. In the early days they sat upon benches and stools about tables for their meals, taking their food from large dishes with their fingers. The use of the fork was apparently unknown, as they are many times shown helping themselves with their fingers from common dishes. Their formal feasts were far more complicated and at these they reclined upon couches and were attended by slaves, who passed among them serving them with food. At the end of these banquets they were entertained by professional dancers and jugglers and much wine was drunk. Their clothing was of the simplest sort and is so well shown in the various illustrations that it need not be described.

It will readily be seen that the Greek laid the greatest emphasis on life and action. The per-

son who could not accomplish things was held in low esteem and as a consequence old age was accorded less respect among them than among any of the other ancient nations. A son who had been properly educated by his father was compelled to care for his father in old age, but throughout the later Greek literature old age is constantly spoken of only as a thing to be endured. White hairs were not considered a crown of glory but a badge of weakness and decrepitude. Death in youth or middle age was looked upon as a calamity, while the death of the aged was welcomed as a relief.

The elaborateness of the funeral ceremonies depended upon the ability of friends or relatives to provide the expense. There was a funeral feast at which the virtues of the deceased were discussed, and friends and citizens accompanied the body to the grave, where sacrifices were offered. The grave itself was decorated with flowers and wreaths of ivy and was considered holy ground. Traitors to their country and those who had committed capital crimes were denied the ceremonies of a funeral.

Earth-mound burial was common from prehistoric times with the Caucasian race and these mounds were mentioned in early Greek writings as being then in existence, the unexplored remains of an unnamed people. Caves, natural and artificial, were also used for the same purpose by the prehis-

tic inhabitants and by the earliest Greeks. Later the artificial caverns were joined into groups; each individual cavern of the group contained several stone or clay coffins. Later still tombs were built above ground which contained chambers and stone benches for the coffins, and many of these tombs were developed into the form of small temples, but by far the most common practice was grave burial.

The Athenians secured water from the hills and springs, which was conveyed to the public baths by means of stone pipes and troughs. They had some idea of sewage disposal by means of underground conduits, but despite the care and attention that they devoted to individual cleanliness they apparently had little or no knowledge of public sanitation or hygiene. When Athens was at the very height of her political and intellectual leadership she was attacked by a plague which was so devastating that when it subsided at the end of the year it is estimated that forty per cent of her population was dead. This is only one of a number of such epidemics which are recorded as having visited Athens.

Literature

NO true or deep understanding of the character or life of the Greek people is to be had without a careful study of the Iliad and Odyssey. The Iliad, or Song of Ilium or Troy, is the gathering together of a great mass of tradition and song by the blind poet Homer. Whether Homer wrote the Iliad or whether any such single person really existed is a subject of controversy compared to which the argument over the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy is as nothing.

The poem, which is unsurpassed in music and power in any language, is primarily an account of the ten years' siege of Troy which resulted when the Greeks made war upon the city of the plain in order to avenge Menelaus, King of Sparta, whose wife, Helen, had been stolen away by Paris, son of the King of Troy. The poem also includes accounts of the events which led up to the siege as well as the ultimate fate of those leaders who took part in it.

The Odyssey is devoted to the adventures and journeyings about the Mediterranean of Odes-

sus and his companions after the fall of Troy. Many of the ideals and standards set up in Homer are higher and purer than those of later days when Athens led the world, but had accepted some of the life and thought of the Orient.

It would require a large building to house the unnumbered volumes that have been written around the fabled fall of Troy, which was unquestionably based upon fact. The poem has not only furnished an endless fount of inspiration for poets and dramatists, but has been analyzed and simplified by historians and philosophers. It is furthermore the largest single source of our knowledge of Greek mythology. The legendary heroes of Greece are like the mythological heroes of every other race. Their names eventually appear to have become conventional, all great deeds and events of early national life being assigned to them. Originally actual characters, they have been to a greater or less degree invested with divine attributes and have become incorporated not only into tradition but into the mythology of the race of which they were the first leaders. This explains the hero worship of all ancient nations, north or south, east or west.

This is the very reason why we must give constant deference to legends and traditions, as all have some relationship to truth and are founded on something which actually took place. Aside from their poetic beauty the greatest interest of all myths

is the opportunity they offer for inquiry into their basic foundation of fact.

One of the leading and most influential features of Greek life was the festivals peculiar to them. Their religion was cheerful. It encouraged fixed holidays, processions and feasts, and some of these eventually grew into fixtures of great importance in the national life. The four great inter-state or national festivals were the Olympian, held every four years in honor of Zeus, on the banks of Alpheus, in Elis; the Pythian, held once in four years, in honor of Apollo, at Delphi; the Isthmian, held every two years at the sanctuary on the Isthmus of Corinth, in honor of Poseidon; and the Nemean, held each two years at Nemea, in honor of Juno.

While they are usually spoken of as games, they were basically great religious festivals. The four mentioned were but a few of the many celebrated, but being devoted to the most powerful gods they gained a prominence never attained by others. The gods were supposed to lend their names, special care and attention to these meetings, which were at one and the same time occasions for common worship and opportunities for exchange of ideas and for amusements.

They were at first presumably purely local gatherings with visitors only from the immediate neighborhood. The oldest gathering recorded, the

Olympian, first became historical in 776 B. C., and this date is interesting because it is the first from which historians reckon continuous history. The Pythian games did not begin to be recorded until the 48th Olympiad, or 586 B. C. The other games came into historical importance at still later dates, but these dates have nothing to do with the real beginnings of the games, which are hidden in legend. We know that when the dates were recorded the games were of long standing and the rules regulating the conduct of the competitions were well matured.

Their genesis is easily explained. Village festivals naturally attracted the inhabitants of the surrounding country, then there came the natives of other villages and sometimes special invitations were sent into surrounding communities. As the ceremonies became more elaborate and the crowds larger, all feuds and local animosities were of necessity laid aside and the places where the games were held were considered sacred during the month of the ceremonies. Heralds were sent about to proclaim these conditions and heavy fines were laid upon the communities which violated them, and they were not permitted to join in further festivals until the fines were paid.

The cities and islands were not only independent of each other, but differed widely in manners and customs and were bitterly jealous. Sparta

was aristocratic and conservative; Athens, for those times, democratic and progressive. In Athens was displayed for the first time in history the full capacity of the human mind, but she never mastered the diplomacy of peace and there was ceaseless warfare and shifting of allegiance between the various Grecian cities. There were only in the games and in the danger of common foreign enemies, any common interests that exerted a continuous influence on the different Grecian communities.

The insistence that came to be placed upon the truce which ruled at the time of the games shows what a powerful influence they were for good in emphasizing common duties and common objects of reverence and the pleasure to be gained in common amusements. There were certain elements which united all the Hellenes. They possessed a common blood and common language, they were alike in religious point of view, legends, sacrifices, festivals, and in general manners and character. In no city of historical Greece did there prevail either human sacrifices or mutilations, or polygamy, or the sense of unlimited obedience to any one man, all of which customs did exist in various degrees among the Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians and Persians. The habit of contesting with naked body in physical contests of all sorts was common in all the Greek communities, and according to the Greek historians, was not only not practiced but was looked at

askance by the other ancient nations mentioned. The beginning of the custom was lost in the past but it was of early origin and so distinct that it must be given weight as among the causes of Greek unity.

The strictly local religious festivals gradually expanded into elaborate and regulated exhibitions recurring at regular intervals. The presence of all Greeks, either as competitors, spectators or traders, was not only acquiesced in but solicited. The elaboration based upon the religious festival not only included games such as we have already described, but competitions as well in poetry, song, oratory and drama. The dramas, particularly the tragedies, were based entirely upon Greek legends and were consequently peculiarly fitted to interest and enthuse the Greek audiences and emphasize the feeling that basically all Greeks were united in their ideals.

We have already shown that the education of Greek youths prepared them in a general way for taking part in these games. The winner of any of the contests, particularly those of the Olympiad, was so highly regarded that the honor was one well worth striving for, no matter what a man's wealth or standing in the community. The people were so interested, the various contests were so much a part of their everyday experience, that these regular gatherings went a long way toward overcoming po-

litical differences and did more than any other single thing to promote a feeling of brotherhood in the midst of constant jealousy and frequent quarreling. The individuals delegated by their fellows to represent them at the games were considered immune from the effects of these quarrels during the time of the games. They came from many different points, all made the same sacrifices to the same gods at the same altars and all witnessed or took part in the same sports. The festivals became in time veritable fairs and included much trading among a great mass of spectators, and beside the contests themselves, there were recitations and lectures given by poets, philosophers, and historians, to any who chose to listen. The wealthy individuals made a particular effort to own and train the winners for horse and chariot races and instances are not unknown of men of wealth who went to all of the personal sacrifice necessary to contest as runners or wrestlers.

The ground where the ceremonies took place and even the whole territory of the state was protected by a truce during the month of the festivities and no idea was permitted which in any way interfered with the general impression of peace and brotherhood.

The rules under which the entire proceedings were conducted were of gradual development, but at an early day became fixed. One of the remarkable features of the gatherings came to be the

manner in which the immense crowds conducted themselves under the directions of a few servants armed with batons who spread abroad the orders of those in charge.

The official prizes were wreaths of no intrinsic value, but the victors gained great personal popularity. It is recorded that at the time of the Roman occupation they destroyed at Olympia alone two hundred and thirty bronze statues of victors.

Mention has already been made of the fact that the drama was given competitively as part of the great national games. The character of Greek tragedy was determined from the beginning by the fact of its intimate connection with religion. The productions were seasonal and were originally given in connection with religious celebrations. The choice of subjects was circumscribed and was always connected with the life of some one of the ancient heroes. That was always the central motive, no matter what the digressions or embellishments of the author.

The tragedies were all interpretations, not of human beings and of life, but of national traditions and standards. The characters were either models to be admired and copied or warnings whose actions were to be shunned. The tragedies were not studies in the actions and reactions of human relationships. Their characters were all typical rather

than individual. There were to them no unanswered questions, no unexplained calamities.

The construction of the drama favored this viewpoint. The problems arising in the play were usually discussed by only two characters at a time. These dialogues were relieved and interrupted by songs chanted by a chorus, which elaborated the situations, made comments and drew conclusions.

The first Greek theater was a concave semicircular hillside facing a level space on which the attendants sang and danced about an altar. When buildings were constructed this same general plan was followed and a natural location was taken advantage of wherever possible. In the majority of cases the seating arrangements were semicircular. The level, central circle was used by the chorus and orchestra, with the stage beyond facing the seats across the orchestra. The majority of the theatres were so arranged that the audience reached their seats by mounting to them along steps and aisles from the orchestra. The seats at the front and center, in some cases reserved for priests or notables, were of stone, with backs and divisions to prevent crowding. The other seats were simply a series of low stone steps for which individuals probably provided their own cushions. The amphitheater was open to the sky and some were so large that they would hold thirty thousand spectators.

There was a fixed fee for general admission and aside from the few seats already mentioned as set aside, no reservation, so that those who desired seats near the front came early, crowds sometimes gathering before dawn. The men were in the majority in the audiences and in the early days women attended only the tragedies, as the comedies were considered unfit for good women.

The scenic arrangements were primitive but adequate and much more complete than at the time of the Elizabethan drama. There was even included an arrangement for supporting and manipulating flying figures, but much was left to the imagination.

The actors, because of the distance of the stage from the audience and the size of the amphitheater, wore masks for the purpose of emphasizing the features and expression. These were in some cases so arranged as to magnify the sound of the voice. The actors also padded their limbs and bodies to increase their bulk and used thick-soled foot coverings to exaggerate their height. The costumes were varied in color and richly embroidered. The dramas thus produced in the open air and at a considerable distance from the larger portion of the audience were not intimate, but large and spectacular. The principals depended for their impressions upon large effects. There was no subtlety. All was positive and direct.

The chorus sang and danced not as in our day, but in a series of rythmical and plastic poses, and the entire production was accompanied by music. The whole appeal was aimed at the eye and ear as well as at the mind. Based upon intellect, it found its expression in art.

Comedy was older and more simple and primitive than tragedy. Like tragedy, its production was based on the song and dance and made use of a chorus. Here all similarity between the two ended. Comedy had nothing to do with history or legend. It dealt with contemporary everyday life in terms of the broadest burlesque and satire.

Tragedies and comedies alike were produced under the care of priests and the general supervision of the state. Tragedies were given in the morning, comedies in the afternoon. Three days were given over to the productions, three tragedies and five comedies by separate authors being produced. There was an element of competition, as authors and performers of the most successful pieces were awarded prizes. In order to avoid favoritism the actors were assigned by lot and trained at public expense. Each chorus was in charge of a leader, who was responsible for its training and performance, and the expense of each was provided by some wealthy citizen. The prizes were awarded by a committee of citizens so chosen that

they expressed the popular decision, and a prize was given to the most successful author, the favorite actor, and the one who had provided the best trained chorus, so that the interest in the competition was wide and varied.

Archaic Sculpture

THE legends concerning the origin and beginnings of the civilization of the Greeks are most poetic and interesting, but we cannot here enter into the legends and mythologies of ancient Greece except to give a few hints as to the antiquity of these people and their progress in prehistoric times. In Homer's time, about 800 B. C., this ancient civilization which was the foundation of historic Greece was but a tradition and a memory and it has remained for explorers of our own day to bring its evidences to light.

Relics of primitive life found in the islands of Cyprus and Crete show us that those islanders were familiar with the use of copper in all probability as early as 3000 B. C. Among the relics found in Cyprus, in Crete, in certain districts on the Asiatic coast and in northern Greece, is seen a marked tendency to represent more or less crudely the human form. There are coarse sculptures of feminine idols in white marble, and clay jars in rude outline of the human body.

Beneath the Greek city of Ilium have been found the remains of six small towns, one under the other. In the most ancient were discovered but few objects of copper or stone. In the four towns above were bronze tools and vases with incised ornaments, unpainted. The sixth town was undoubtedly the Troy of Priam, destroyed by the Achæans under Agamemnon, so that recent discoveries have confirmed the main lines of Homeric traditions. Great numbers of objects of all kinds have been found in these ruins of ancient Troy: clay jars in human shape, nude leaden figurines, gold ornaments and vases, and weights decorated with incisions showing early steps toward written characters.

Most interesting and perhaps the most important discoveries have been made at the sites of Mycenæ and Tiryns, both ancient cities mentioned by Homer. These relics show evidences of an advanced civilization and an original artistic taste but little related to that of Egypt or Assyria. Innumerable fragments of painted pottery have been unearthed bearing decorations of leaves, plants and fish entirely unlike anything in Oriental decoration.

In 1900 excavations made by Arthur Evans on the island of Crete disclosed the ancient palace at Cnossos, called the Labyrinth, previously known only in the legend of the same name. Like Assyr-

ian palaces, it consists of many long, narrow and confusing corridors, but the explorer believes that the name of the palace did not then have the significance which we have come to give the term. On the walls throughout the corridors were found designs of a religious symbol, a two-edged ax, and the discoverer claims that the name for the palace was derived from an ancient word "Labrys" meaning ax, and that this was the Palace of the Ax. There were many plaster bas-reliefs and paintings on the walls, showing life-sized and smaller figures in groups, hunting scenes, landscapes, a view of a town, and a series of really picturesque subjects entirely unoriental in motive, which have proven a revelation to modern artists and students of art history.

From the knowledge we now possess it seems reasonable to consider three distinct periods of early Greek culture: the *Ægean* period, from about 3000 to 2000 B. C.; the Minoan, or Cretan, 2000 to 1500 B. C., when the island of Crete seems to have been the principal center of civilization; and the last prehistoric period, the Mycenæan, dating from 1500 to 1100 B. C. The poems of Homer give us a fairly true picture of these stages of development, as the discoveries of the past fifty years prove.

Between the third or Mycenæan period and the time of Homer, warrior tribes from north-

ern Greece, among them the Dorians, destroyed Mycenæan civilization and again Greece relapsed into barbarism. This was soon after the Trojan war, about 1100 B. C. A number of tribes fled to the islands, notably those of Chiof, the probable birth-place of the Homeric poems, and Cyprus, and there was preserved at least the memory of Mycenæan culture. They were people whose descendants gave back to Greece some part of the genius they had received from her.

The wonderful awakening that we see in Greek archaic art is the flowering of just as wonderful a mental awakening. In the presence of these old Greek statues we see a striving after truthful representation and at the beginning an almost pitiful desire to see and depict things as they really are. This is but one evidence of a mental change that has most profoundly affected all subsequent civilization. This desire for realism in sculpture corresponded with a desire for new things in literature, in philosophy, and in politics. Though only one sign among many, Greek sculpture is considered the most adequate and characteristic evidence of this new mental attitude.

Walls made of enormous irregular blocks of stone surrounded the prehistoric Greek cities. At Mycenæ the wall was broken by a huge gate, known as the Gate of the Lionesses, through which the citadel was entered.

The sculpture forms a singular triangular block and is probably of later date than the wall itself. These walls, by the way, were called cyclopean by the Greeks, as they believed them to be the work of a race of mythological giants known as Cyclops. No Mycenæan temples are found and it is probable that the palace was also the place of worship and the dwelling place of the priest as well as of the king. Wood was more frequently used than was stone in the building of these palaces. The columns were of wood and the stone column seen in the illustration of the gateway is undoubtedly a copy of the characteristic wooden forms. You will notice the unusual tapering form of the column, such as you will find in no other typical architecture, but the capitals show the first evidences of the Doric and Ionic orders still in use to-day. The lionesses are the only large Mycenæan works left, but we still have a number of bas-reliefs in alabaster, metal and plaster, figurines in terra cotta, ivory and bronze, and several specimens of chased metal work.

It was stated in a previous chapter that we had not yet met with an ideal of beauty that was to any extent realized by ancient artists or artisans, and though the enthusiast, carried beyond reason in his admiration of Greek genius, sometimes gives credit to these earliest Greeks for realizing an ideal, we feel that it is an exaggeration to say that it is found in any of the works produced during these

three prehistoric stages of development. It is also contrary to all the laws of development to suppose that Greek genius and Greek life arose in a day.

There is always a reason and a working out of that reason in every effect. Like all men, the Greek had to learn the rudiments of singing before he could chant the Homeric poems. Like the children of each new generation, each succeeding race of men passed more quickly through the primer age than their predecessors, because of their inherited talents. The early Greek was of original mind, audacious and strong in initiative. He was no imitator, but at the same time he had the wisdom to make use of the knowledge that the Orientals had gained through their centuries of struggle. We show illustrations of some early Greek works which are remarkable when we consider the time when they were produced, but you will see at once that they cannot take their place with masterpieces of classical art. If you will compare them with the illustrations of later Egyptian and Assyrian work you will surely credit them with originality, though the Greeks used many technical processes presumably borrowed from the earlier nations.

The human form is not yet made beautiful. The long, thin arms, legs and body lack the sense of strength we saw in Assyrian sculpture; nevertheless they give us a hint of the embodiment of life which the Assyrian usually failed to give in the human

form he modeled. The Cretan artist always showed a love for life, especially in his picturing of animals, and in this latter respect he is not unlike the Assyrian.

The Greeks had at their disposal a material, marble, which gave them a great advantage over the Egyptians and Assyrians. It was not as hard as granite and was more durable than alabaster. It was far more beautiful than the one and easier to work than the other, but we must look further than this to discover a reason for the genius of this people, which expressed itself so forcibly and so characteristically in carved marble. We cannot say that the diversified landscape, the brilliant skies, the clear air made the Greeks what they were, although all of these things unquestionably helped form their ideals. Nor can we say that the material alone which they found at hand inspired the statues, although that, too, had its effect. It was a new outlook on life, the impulse of a new ideal, which impelled the hand to acquire the skill over the marble.

We made excuses for the Persian lack of originality, saying that the time of Persia's existence as a nation was all too brief for them to combine and unify the elements handed on to them from other nations. Now we are discussing a people who made such extraordinarily rapid progress that barely two hundred years elapsed

between the origin of marble sculpture in Greece and its culmination. Nothing like it has ever been known in the history of the world. It is true that they owed much to their neighbors in the East, but they borrowed and duplicated technical and mechanical methods chiefly. They had within themselves a fearless originality which impelled them to rise above, and emancipate themselves from, past tradition and so to rapidly work out an independent and purely original civilization.

In Greek sculpture a height was reached which artists of later times have found difficult to comprehend. Through all the centuries since all nations have turned to Greek art, literature and life as models and inspirations, acknowledging their matchless perfection. Although to some the Gothic cathedral may appear a higher artistic conception than the Greek temple, and later days have unquestionably produced as great literature, no one would give preference to Oriental, Medieval or Renaissance sculpture over the finest marbles of the Greeks. During the centuries that have passed since the time of great Greek sculpture the highest tribute that could be paid to any piece of sculpture has been that it approached or had the qualities of the Greek at its best.

Because of this precedence universally given to Hellenic sculpture a study of it naturally forms a central ground from which we may view

and compare earlier and later developments, and we are most fortunate in possessing the innumerable remains and copies preserved in our museums and having at hand the knowledge which the archæologists and scholars generally have given us.

During the Archaic Greek period the artist strove to gain truer perception of the subject to be represented and to master the several materials in which he worked, and most of the early works are valuable for us as students in that they contain the elements from which the later masterpieces were developed. During the two centuries of Archaic culture the foundations were laid for such achievements as distinguished Greek life and art from all other arts of the world. We may find but little to admire in the statuary of this period, but we will find an historical interest, a human interest, that puts it among the most important things in the world's intellectual life. We will find also, if we look on the pictures with insight or sympathy, that these crude and at first almost inarticulate efforts of the old artists to express themselves carry with them an intense and at times almost poignant human interest.

We at once make a discovery concerning Greek ideals. Even in these early attempts at portraying the beautiful we find all sham forbidden. Simplicity they ever held before them as their aim. The merely accidental, the unessential, they barred.

They first of all considered the worth of the subject and how to depict it. One of the oldest marble statues, discovered at Delos, dates from about 625 B. C. It represents the Greek goddess Artemis. The carving is most primitive and it might almost be taken for a pillar with indications of the head, arms and girdle. The Greeks used a word to designate these early figures which means to scrape wood, and it is probable that wood was the first material used for large statues by the Greeks, and that this Artemis was copied after a wooden model. The marble block is in shape quite like a plank of wood, so that even the face does not project beyond the plain surface and the waist is cut in only at the side.

The Hera of Samos represents another feminine type and was produced about thirty-five years after the Artemis. Its general aspect is still that of the column, but the draped shawl is evidence of the study of nature, and a hint of the freedom which developed later, is given; freedom from the merely technical, freedom from the limitations of tradition and imitation. Notice the hand, the arm beneath the drapery, the position of the feet, the circular base, and how the drapery meets it, and compare it all with the Artemis. You will at once see that the artist shows in his modeling that he is on the way to the mastery of materials.

The statue of King Chares, probably of somewhat earlier date than the Hera, is typical of Greek art in Asia; in other words, is typical of Ionian art of the period. Note the lines of the body indicated under the garment. The whole figure shows a tendency to heaviness and an influence of an admiration for mass rather than a feeling for the beauty of line. The advance shows best in the drapery itself, especially in that folded strip which falls over the knee. It is not a lifelike statue and we feel that King Chares was seated on his throne there to remain forever.

Ancient writers tell us of a family of sculptors who about 550 B. C. were working on the island of Chios. Achermos, one of this family, originated a new type of sculptured subject, that of a winged goddess. A statue of this school was discovered, partly demolished, in the isle of Delos. It has been reconstructed and is now in the museum of Athens. This figure marks an important innovation in sculpture and gives us a first glimpse of one phase of Greek spirit. Turn back to the Egyptian and Assyrian illustrations and note the few pictures of the figures of women. The Egyptian more often pictured her than the Assyrian, but until foreign influence was felt there was never a smiling face and never an indication that the feminine creature ever had any impulse to take even a few steps, so tightly sheathed was she in her long garments.

Here, scarcely a century and a half after the first indication of any art expression in Greece, we find a woman raised above the mortal by wings and actually running or flying and displaying the upper part of a muscular leg. After our sojourn with granite and alabaster people, somber and passive, the greatest surprise is perhaps the smiling countenance. True, the artist was far from successful in portraiture. The cheek bones are too prominent and the smile perhaps but a grimace, nevertheless she smiles and we know that the Greek's idea of divinity must contain many human elements, that the women of that time and consequently the men had a larger individual life. We also feel that we have a right from this point on to expect still greater originality.

The Greek was not content in imitating or reproducing mere form. He was not afraid to experiment. He dared to venture, to express his feelings, and because of his innovations he finally succeeded in expressing spiritual life.

The sculptures of Chios were carried to Athens, where they were frequently imitated and varied, and from the excavations made on the Acropolis we have secured a whole series of statues of this sort. These do not so frequently represent winged figures in motion. They are female figures usually in the attitude of worship or prayer and are closely draped, hence are not seen in action. Here

we again find the face intended to be pleasing and smiling, and though the long lines of the tunics are severe and stiff, we cannot look upon these statues without sensing the life the artist instilled into them. This was emphasized by vivid coloring, of which traces still remain, showing that the archaic Greek sculptor was not content with carving alone. Another point worthy of remark right here is that each one of these statues has individual characteristics. Their creators were artists, not artisans. Each statue was the creation of an individual who strove, not to copy a type, but to create something distinctive.

The first type of the male figure known to us is seen in a statue which was probably a Cretan production of the Sixth century B. C. There are many of these male figures extant, most of which have been found in or near old sanctuaries of the god Apollo. It is an open question whether they were intended to be statues of men or of gods. We show pictures of several of these figures, that you may note the gradual growth of accuracy of conception and of skill in mastering detail. Even in the crudest there is honesty and simplicity and we feel the earnestness of the artist. He did not seek to attract attention by any tricks of modeling. He invented no unnatural or unusual positions nor did he contort the body for the sake of easier representation, or to conform with preconceived ideas of

beauty. His comprehension of the exact form of the bodily members was far from complete and we at once see the inaccuracy of the trunks of the figures and also note that the features are not true to nature.

One of the greatest difficulties encountered by the early sculptor was his inability to master the material. The arms were at first hardly detached from the body, but as time went on the artist dared more and more. The arms later were connected with the body by long ridges, then by small blocks, and finally, in the "Strangford" Apollo, now in the British Museum, even the blocks have disappeared. A similar steady advance is shown in the treatment of the general anatomy of the body and especially the hands, but the features remain essentially the same.

There are differences, it is true, in the faces of many of the early statues; some eyes slant inward, others are almost horizontal. Some mouths are straight, in others both lips curve evenly, again there is a straight line where the lips meet, with only a pleasing curve for the edge of the lower lip. At this time the artist seemed only to attempt to make some one feature pleasing to look upon. He had not learned what later Greeks knew, that a beautiful feature necessitated a beautiful surrounding and that a cheek, a forehead, a chin, could not be modeled at the will of the artist regardless of the other features.

The results of this early work were an occasional pleasing eye, or an almost expressive mouth, but never the enhancing of one feature by another. This all tells us that as yet the Greek had not arrived at the true meaning of the features. He could not read in them the soul of man and, in fact, this idea of spirit was still foreign to his thoughts and was to remain so for several generations.

They bestowed certain attributes on the various personages represented, but there the interest in them as individuals seemed to cease and so for some time they remained merely abstract types. Towards the close of the Sixth century B. C. progress became more rapid, the type began to disappear and artists attempted the representation of individuals in all variety of attitude and occupation.

Undoubtedly painting, the freer method of expression, materially aided in the progress toward the final results in sculpture. The frescoes of this period have disappeared but we have a number of vases, the earlier with red figures, the later with black figures, showing the change of ideas now taking place.

The Awakening

WHEN the Greek social organization became fairly well established and men were not obliged to spend all of their time in defense; when they enjoyed a certain amount of leisure which they felt the necessity of occupying worthily, new elements entered into the idea of work. A man must be able not only to do his part in the practical and necessary business of life but also to properly occupy the time gained from daily tasks. To such leisure time and to the manner of filling it the ancient Greek assigned so much importance that he gave it a separate term for which we have no single word in the English language, so that we can only convey the idea in many words.

Life, to the cultivated Greek, divided itself into two portions, one to be given to means, the other to ends. Under the first was included all that related to practical life, and that comprised not only earning a living, politics and war, but their religious observance as well. Under that portion of life devoted to ends interest was given to the muses,

to the fine arts, science and philosophy. These were, in the old Greek way of thinking, the real ends of life to which all other things were but means. This distinction conditioned the whole of Greek life and culture at its time of greatest intensity, and we have but repeated the idea in various ways through all the centuries intervening.

A man of Athens, to be a man of worth, the Greek ideal of life, had to be a good father, a good citizen, a good state officer and a pious worshiper of the gods. These were his practical, everyday duties and if he failed in any of them he could be reached by the arm of the law. But in proportion as leisure for higher occupation became possible, and such leisure was always aimed at by free men, other duties which the law could not enforce were added by the combined power of personal ambition and of public opinion. The larger a man's leisure the greater his duty to be able to take intelligent part in all social intercourse in which men gave free expression to their noblest natures. This was secured by an enjoyment of the liberal arts and by association with others in serious conversation. It is entirely characteristic of the Greek that in these activities, which to him were the real object of life, he should insist that no part of his nature be neglected. So the care of the body, and feasting, were given as much thought and attention as was the free expression of the intellectual and emo-

tional nature. Such interests and occupations required an education, and such education formed an essential part of the preparation for life of every Athenian who laid any claim to worth.

It must be ever borne in mind that the old Greeks, politically, showed one marked contrast to all of the historic peoples that had gone before them. They never brooked tyranny or oppression of any sort. Even their religion, which to other ancient peoples had eventually become a burden and oppression, was to them a poetical and joyous explanation of the mysteries of nature. The Greeks had a genius for liberty, novelty and progress.

With the division of life into two parts, one real and the other ideal, there came a division of men into two classes: those whose life was confined to the real and those who could rise to the ideal. These latter eventually became a class of gentlemen associated with the idea of elegant leisure. This eventual separation of the leisure class and the working classes was a dangerous thing, but it is not difficult to trace the origin of philosophy and the development of Hellenic art to the basic idea of means and ends of life.

From the earliest time of which we have any historical record Greek education was divided into parts. Gymnastics for the body, philosophy for the mind, poetry and music for the emotions, were all given equal importance. The purpose was

to put the pupil into complete possession of his bodily and mental powers. Such self-possession the Greeks termed "fair-and-goodness," fair applying to the body and good applying to the intellect and emotions. The physical training was under the patronage of Hermes, the messenger of the gods, while poetry and letters were under that of Apollo and the Muses. Such patronage by the gods implied worship of them, so that days were set apart for this purpose when pupils took part in competitive physical and mental exercises. The winners were crowned with wreaths and considered special favorites of the gods, for all worth or excellence was regarded as a mark of divine favor.

It is especially true of sculpture that no real progress can be made unless it be kept constantly in touch with nature, by observation. The Greek ideal of life, including as we have seen the perfect development of the body, resulted in surrounding the Greek artist with constant opportunities for observing the human form both in rest and in action and this in approximate perfection of condition and all around muscular development.

The artist thus had constantly about him an infinite variety of poses, such as no study of an artificial model could have given him, and on the other hand his audience was a people who gave much thought to the perfecting of the human body. The artist further had constant opportunity for the

observation of drapery on the figures that surround him in daily life. He saw a variety and fineness of texture and grace of drapery that no amount of arranging of a model in unfamiliar garments and materials could ever suggest.

The Greek artist as a general rule did not confine himself to one particular model. He so familiarized himself with living, moving forms, so stored his memory with their outline and surface modeling, that when he once selected his theme and mentally composed it he was ready to cut his marble and visualize his idea. He became in this way no mere imitator of nature but a creator after nature, and so was absolutely free to visualize the various parts in perfect harmony.

We cannot say that he never worked with a model before him, but if he did it must have been to supplement or correct some detail in observation. He was enabled in this way to create figures which possessed a perfection of proportion which was probably beyond that found in any single individual, but which under his hand came to have a life and individuality of their own. He had constantly about him the opportunity of studying the human form in all its diversity, such as none of his successors ever had, and hence he acquired a freedom in artistic creation in that particular direction such as is possessed by a present day dramatist or novelist through his free and numberless opportuni-

ties for the observation of men and their ways, the comedies, romances and tragedies of everyday life.

In our studies we have found that the religion of a people supplied themes and motives for many of their art products and at the same time narrowed its influence, retarded its progress and set a limit upon all expression. We have found, so far as we have gone, that except in the religion of Persia, reason played little or no part. There we found the germ of a freer, higher thought. With these things in mind we are curious to see what influence their religion had upon the art of the Greeks, or to put it conversely, we would like to learn what expression, if any, art was of their religion.

Theirs was a nature worship combined with an elaborate and beautiful mythology; a joining together of observation and thought. In their developed ideals they saw in their gods beings like themselves with human feelings and human failings, human likes and dislikes. These gods were supposed to dwell about the top of Mt. Olympus, where they held their counsels and their feasts and experienced all the joys and sorrows that could come to a large family and its dependents.

They took part in the battles of the Trojan War, according to Homer, assisting one side or the other as was their preference at the time. Their favor might be won by prayers and sacrifices and

their will discovered by means of signs and oracles. Those who found favor with the gods were in after life to have a place in Elysium, the fields of the blest. Those who incurred the anger of the gods would be condemned to Tartarus, the gulf of torment. One of the highest motives in life was to obtain the approval of the gods.

Homer tells us that the early Greeks believed that the gods inhabited their country, preferring one to another, and it was consequently advisable for each city to obtain this special favor by making the local dwelling place of the god as attractive as possible. As the religious ideas advanced and the conception of the nature of the gods became higher there came the thought that they did not dwell in houses made by human hands, yet that a Greek temple should be made beautiful as a pleasing service and honor to the deity to whom it was dedicated. So we see that their idea was quite the same as that which prompted the erection of the mediæval cathedral.

The same transition took place in their attitude of mind toward the images of the deities. In ancient Greek times the rude wooden or stone image was sometimes itself the recipient of material offerings or it was painted in pleasing colors or wrapped about in costly draperies quite as though the object of worship must of necessity be pleased with the same things that pleased the worshipers.

This holds the germ of their later religious and philosophic ideas and their expressions of the same in sculpture, painting and architecture.

The first objects of idolatry were almost, if not quite, without form, but the desire to make the offerings and prayers of the worshipers perceptible to the power within the object led to the addition of human features to the shapeless block. It was the same idea that prompted the early Greeks to paint eyes upon the prows of their ships, just as the Chinese do to-day, that they might be able to find their way through the waters. So they carved eyes and ears on the blocks or added a head with these features to the original formless mass, that the deity might be in closer communication with the petitioner. Many primitive idols of this form have been found.

This display of so entirely a materialistic imagination seems hardly to belong to those whom we think of as typically Greek and we find, as soon as religion reached the polytheistic stage in Greece, the gods were regarded as traveling from image to image just as from temple to temple. The exact relation of the gods and goddesses to the images was probably not very clearly realized, but at least we know that the Greeks believed that they had a better chance of reaching the deity if they approached one of the images preferred by that god as the abode of his power. While the home of the gods

was in Olympus, they were supposed to attend the great festivals held in their honor and to visit people and places favored by them. The images set up in their temples were thus regarded as means of communication between the gods and men.

We at once see, with this belief in mind, how important it must have been to the Greek to make the sculptured image of the god as beautiful and attractive as possible and as worthy an embodiment of the deity as the sculptor could imagine and execute. This was the one most direct way of attracting the god. This stage, however, was not attained at once. During the time that tradition and religion were bound by rituals and lacked reason, it was not easy or safe to depart too rashly from the conventional forms already sanctioned, for was there not a risk in attempting to improve upon an image which had worked satisfactorily as a means of transmitting requests from mortals to the immortals? It looked like a dangerous move. It might not be at all agreeable to the gods to find their old and well-established means of communication superseded by new images.

We see in this overcoming of a conservative tendency one of the strengths of the Greek character. The desire for beauty overcame this prejudice against change, and in the early images credited to Daedalus we find a considerable advance over the roughly shaped stones that served as the

most primitive objects of worship. It was long after the art of sculpture was capable of providing worshipers with finer embodiments of the deities represented that the crude early images still remained the center of the state cult and of official worship, as well as of popular veneration.

A people who gave to us the philosophies of life such as these Greeks gave, were not to be retarded and bound down in their intellectual development by unreasonable rituals and formalities and by time-worn traditions. The intellect which conceived the literature and art before which we to-day stand in many ways in the reverent relation of pupil to master, found a way to overcome its own superstitions and prejudices. Without the sanction of the gods they would not make any radical changes, and what better than to secure that sanction for changes they wished to bring about? This they did through the oracle of Delphi and the sanctity of the old image was then transferred to the new.

Occasionally the old and new statues stood side by side in the same temple, and they seemed to typify the two kinds of idolatry, the real and the imaginative. One became the actual subject of the ceremonial rites and the other was made the visible embodiment of the god which helped the worshiper to consecrate his adoration and his prayers. One cannot conceive of any more clever way of

solving the difficult problem. We at once see how this gave the sculptor almost perfect freedom of initiative and at the same time disturbed not even the most conservative and fettered mind.

The story is told of Dædalus, called by some a legendary, by others an historical sculptor, that he made statues of the gods so lifelike that they had to be chained to their pedestals to prevent their running away; for if he gave them eyes that they might see and ears that they might hear, why if he gave them legs might they not run away and leave their worshipers?

We can account for the smiling countenances we have already noted in the same way. They were so carved before the Greeks had learned to express attributes by the features, and yet it was evidently done with full intention. It seems quite in accordance with conditions of earlier Greek art that they should have made the image of a god smile so as to induce the god himself to smile upon the people, or the smile might make the figure more pleasing and thus aid in attracting the god to his statue.

We know from these prevailing ideas concerning the deities that Greek art must differ from Oriental art. The grim religion of Egypt produced imposing structures, gigantic and awe inspiring, controlled by convention. The gods of Babylon and Assyria, who dwelt high in the heavens, could

only be properly approached by lofty temples. The Greek religion appealed more strongly to human sympathy and revealed a finer sense of beauty. The embodied ideas show the advance in taste and reason which eliminated the exaggerated and extreme and resulted in symmetry and proper proportion. The combination of simplicity of design, grace of form, symmetry of structure and sincerity of expression, which we find in the Greek statue and the Greek temple, is present in none of the works of earlier people. From these things alone we know that the Greeks broke away from the monarchial and traditional ideas of the East and laid the basis of freer, more democratic institutions.

We also know that they began early to develop a higher intellectual life and a finer esthetic taste than had existed among the Orientals. The Greeks began colonizing about 900 B. C. and from that time on this new influence was felt on every shore of the Mediterranean, in Asia Minor, in Thrace, in Egypt, in Sicily, southern Italy and beyond.

The next great event in the development of the Greek people as a nation occurred about 500 B. C. when they were compelled to defend their very existence from external attacks. Their colonies, their cities, their free institutions and their new culture were threatened with destruction by the encroachment of Persia. The stories of these

struggles between the Greeks and Persians are most significant. They belong to the most heroic period of Greek history, when the question was settled whether Greek spirit and Greek culture were to survive, and whether Europe was to become a province of the Orient.

The war waged with Persia has been rightly called the "War of Liberation." It preserved Greece and Europe from Oriental domination, and revealed to the Greeks their own character and strength. They had previously been a loose collection of more or less independent and jealous small states, somewhat attracted to each other by common characteristics of race and language. The Persian wars gave them a consciousness of unity and showed them the importance of their institutions and culture. It gave a new inspiration to Greek life and was followed by half a century of comparative peace, which was devoted to the fulfilling of their great mission; the expression of themselves in life, literature and art.

We owe to this important crisis, to this great impetus given to all the forces of Hellenic genius, such masterpieces of world poetry as the Odes of Pindar and the Tragedies of *Æschylus*. Greece did not come through these wars without scars. There were cities to be rebuilt as well as odes to be sung, and the Greeks set themselves to this task with all their marvelous energy and initiative and almost immediately the newborn classic art

found exceptional opportunity for expressing itself in many ways.

Between the years 480 and 470 B. C. the first works were produced which anticipate the complete emancipation of Greek genius from the danger of Oriental despotism. These were the new pediments of the temple of Aphæa at Ægina, discovered in 1811 and now in a museum of Munich. Among heaps of broken sculpture, seventeen nearly perfect statues were dug out which belong to the eastern and western pediments of the temple dedicated to Athena, the Goddess of Wisdom. The meaning of the sculptures has been variously interpreted. They represent conflicts between the Greeks and Trojans and were probably an allusion to the recent struggle between Greece and Asia Minor.

The figures are carved in Parian marble and so carefully executed that even the wrinkles of the nude portions are indicated. The attitudes are graceful and expressive, the limbs delicately molded and full of energy, but the heads are of the archaic type, with the same smile pictured on all of them, showing that the freedom of art in dealing with the features was slow to arrive. Quintilion tells us that Callon and Hegesias were the sculptors of these works. The most interesting figure of all of these is that of the Fallen Warrior, which approaches some of the masterpieces of the golden age of Greek art.

The pediments of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia date from about 460 B. C. The subject of the eastern pediment is the preparation for the chariot race in which Pelops and Oenomaus, mythological characters, were to compete. The figures are all in repose and show skill in depicting character by means of pose, in carving drapery, and in the case of the old man, exquisite observation of nature.

The western pediment shows another mythological scene, the struggle with the Centaurs at the wedding feast of Pirithous, King of the Lapiths, in which Apollo appears as the protector of the people for whom Theseus and Pirithous were fighting. Many are the interesting points concerning the individual figures in these sculptures, but for our present purpose we would rather give our attention to the composition as a whole, for it marks a great advance over all Oriental art. The Egyptians and Assyrians told their sculptured stories with a considerable degree of strength, dignity and simplicity, but the telling of the story was the chief element they considered. Now we are coming to a realization of the idea of beauty.

We have already seen an advance in the knowledge of form in early Greek art and here we have examples of Greek feeling for rhythm, for beauty of relationship between line and mass. The sculptor now begins to arrange the figures and ele-

ments necessary to his story so that the whole may be in a form that at least approaches a poem. A people who welcomed poetry and rhythm in literature could not be satisfied by merely prosaic unrelated statements in sculpture.

In this particular work the sculptor, by means of lines and masses, tells us of a fierce struggle, but the design is not one of disorder. He combined groups according to ideas and thoughts concerning the individuals, and also according to artistic symmetry. The three central figures, for instance, belong together and yet really form parts of other groups. This partially explains the holding together or unity of the design. The difficulty of properly arranging and applying sculptured decorations to a triangular space was one that the Greeks finally fully solved.

Concerning the sculptors of the work we have already considered but very little is positively known, and until we come to the works of Myron, an Athenian, we really find but few strong proofs of identification of individual artists and their creations. His name stands out as that of the early sculptor whose work appears to critics to be admirable alike for boldness and originality of design and for skill of execution. He lived during the first half of the Fifth century B. C. He was noted for his statues of athletes, one of which is the Discobolus now at Rome. Here the whole torso is full of

life, every muscle is brought into play as the young man represented bends with a vigorous gesture to hurl the discus, but the same almost expressionless, archaic treatment of the head noted in earlier works still lingers.

Before Myron's time athletic sculpture had made considerable progress, for we have passed the time of the rigid, erect figure with possibly one foot advanced, as in the conventional Egyptian pose. This figure, with the arms fixed and the two sides of the body matching exactly, we have seen used by the Greeks to represent an athlete or god. Myron's attainment was due first to the choice of a subject and second of a moment that was suitable for representation in sculpture.

He occupies an important place in art history because he seems to have been the first to realize a principle that was never after departed from in Greek sculpture of the best period and that is now considered fundamental. The principle is that a statue or a group must be complete in itself. It must possess a certain wholeness or concentration that will attract and hold the interest of the spectator within the work itself and not allow it to either wander away or dwell upon unessential details. Many statues are credited to Myron, and whether or not they were really the work of his hand, they at least bear evidence of his influence or of the school for which he stood. The one here illustrated

is so characteristic of the sculptor and of the period that we will allow it alone to represent the ideas of advance it typifies and consider the work of one more man before we come to the art of Phidias.

The ancients tell us that Polycletus of Argos was the creator of a colossal statue of Hera, but of this no traces have been found. There are, however, several bronze statues and copies of the same in which we find the distinguishing characteristics noted by classical writers. The weight of the body is supported upon but one foot, an innovation which belongs to the Fifth century of Greek art. Your attention was called in a previous chapter to the primitive way of placing both feet on the ground, no matter what the action represented, and if you will turn back to the illustrations of the pediments of the *Ægina* Temple you will find the same treatment. Myron's Discobolus first shows a freedom from this conventional and unreal position and Polycletus seems to have been the first to have gone further and introduced the attitude of the standing figure with one foot quite free.

Another example is the bronze figure of an Amazon. This masculine type of heroine was a favorite at this time because of the legends which represented the Amazons as coming from Asia to measure themselves against the Greeks, alluding of course to the struggle of the Persians against the Greeks. Again, the Amazon was a sort of feminine

parallel of the athlete, an idea which gave the artist a chance to create a human ideal of female vigor side by side with that of a goddess. This type was so perfectly realized by Polycletus that to the end of the classical period all Amazon statues were patterned closely after his.

The Golden Age

496 B. C.—400 B. C.

WE now come to the Golden Age of Greece, the final development of Greek art, with which the name of Phidias is inseparably connected. Myron and Polycletus were contemporaries of Phidias, but seem rather to have belonged to a traditional period before the archaic tendencies disappeared, and in truth we may not correctly say that Phidias entirely cast off those limitations, but rather that at his best his art represents their most complete expressions.

The Persian wars, leaving Greece victorious, had destroyed the last remains of Oriental despotism and ushered in a glorious age of politics, of literature and of art. The statesmen Cimon and Pericles encouraged genius of every kind. The tragic poets *Æschylus* and *Sophocles* refined the public taste and inspired sculptors and architects with their fancies and for a time Greece, with Athens for its central city, became the leading country of the world.

Phidias was born about 500 B. C. When Pericles assumed the responsibility of government, Phidias was in the prime of his genius and became the chief co-operator of the great statesman in his building up of Athens. Under Cimon, Phidias had sculptured the colossal bronze statue of Athena which stood on a prominent part of the Acropolis as late as 395 A. D. This bronze Athena we know only by description and from suggestions of it on Greek coins. That it could be seen by mariners approaching the Greek coast tells us it must have been more than fifty feet high. It was an erect figure, on the breastplate was a golden Gorgon's head, the face and hands were of ivory. In the left hand the goddess held a spear and in her outstretched right hand a figure of victory some six feet high. On the base of the figure the battles of the Amazons and the birth of Pandora were carved in relief.

Phidias, as superintendent of public works in Athens, had under him a large number of architects, sculptors, workers in bronze and in gold, and though he may not have done any of the actual work in sculpturing the famous marbles attributed to him, he doubtless designed many of them, and surely inspired the artists and encouraged and criticised their work. He had a passion for the beautiful and to his initiative, his genius and his power of transferring to others some part of his enthusiasm

and his feeling for harmony, we owe some of the most exquisite art works of the world.

If a single spot can be said to have at any time typified Greek life and art, that spot must have been the Acropolis. It was a table of rock in the center of the city of Athens, about two hundred feet high, over a thousand feet in length and about half that in width. This was the heart and original point of settlement of Athens, and accounts of events occurring upon it go back to mythological times. In classical times the great rock was still called "The City," just as the central island of Paris is still so named. At the time of which we write it was no longer occupied by houses, but by temples and sanctuaries, the whole being circumscribed and buttressed about by a great wall or fortification built at the extreme edge of the plateau.

It has been well described as a fortress, a treasury, a sanctuary and a museum of art in one. Never elsewhere in all the world has so much artistic glory ever been contained in so small a space. A magnificent series of stone steps seventy feet broad led up to the Propylæa or colonnaded entrance on the western side. Demosthenes said, "Athens still keeps everlasting possession, on the one side, the memory of her exploits; on the other, the beauty of the monuments dedicated in those olden days, yonder the Propylæa, the Parthenon, the Colonnades, the Ship-houses."

The temple was the center of Greek life and there as everywhere the building and adorning of temples developed the finest architecture. Just as we have found independence and reason combined with fine sensibilities in their literature and sculpture so we will find the same fine balance and proportion in their temples.

The primitive Greek temple was a rectangular stone building of rude masonry. From this simple form there took place a gradual progress toward more beautiful and elaborate structures. The principal variant was the addition of columns and all the later form of Greek temples came from the combining of this rectangular nucleus with various arrangements of columns. Further discussion of what might be called the general principles of Greek temple building would involve us in a maze of technicalities which has no place here.

The Parthenon was one of the most perfect, if not the most perfect monument of Greek architecture. It occupied the most important location on the Acropolis, as it was dedicated to the titular deity of Athens, the protecting goddess of the Attic country. The ancient stone Parthenon had been destroyed by the Persians in 480 B. C. and Pericles wished to build another, larger and finer. Thousands of workmen quarried the most beautiful marbles attainable and they and artists worked to create this splendid temple, worthy of their highest

goddess. It was completed in 435 B. C., being built during a period of comparative peace from war and civil strife.

The ruins, though scanty in comparison with the former perfection of the building, are sufficient to allow of a fairly clear understanding of its general features and a considerable degree of accuracy regarding details. Even the ruins impress all observers with their simplicity, dignity and beauty.

Superficially there could be no more direct and simple plan than the one followed. A rectangular outline with a single horizontal weight resting upon perpendicular supports is the simplest of building designs and that is what we have here. Yet in the Greek temples, particularly the Parthenon, this simplicity is but a sham and behind it there is a finesse that is most characteristic of the Greeks.

Measurements carefully taken and repeatedly verified show that all the apparently straight lines and right angles were under a masterly influence which diverted and distorted them. The columns, for example, did not stand exactly vertical, they were not quite of the same height nor of the same dimensions and were not exactly the same distance apart. The platform upon which they stood was not perfectly level but ever so slightly pillow-shaped and the line of the roof which the columns support is also very slightly curved in-

stead of being exactly horizontal. Nothing, no line or angle, is just as it seems to be and the closer and more exacting the analysis the more fully this is proven. There is not a single stone which is not subject to this studied and accurate irregularity, though the irregularity in many instances can only be calculated in small fractions of inches.

The explanation of all this is simple, but the discovery of the necessity and the subsequent adjustments to that necessity implied a knowledge and mastery which has been the marvel of the generations that followed. The single word, perspective, covers the entire undertaking. The building throughout was constructed to look right.

Long horizontal lines appear to sag in the center, so the Greeks arched these long lines about three inches in two hundred feet. Columns for the same reason were made barrel shape and set at unequal distances apart so that they might appear regularly tapering and equidistant. They leaned in at a variation of about two inches in thirty feet so that they might not appear to lean outward toward the spectator. The entire temple was the base of a pyramid and in every direction exact variations were made from the right angle and the straight line in order to overcome the trickiness of perspective. Everywhere it was the appearance that counted. Fergusson called the exactness of vision of the Greeks a "new sense."

The Parthenon, in the Christian Era, was changed into the church of Hagia Sophia—Sacred Wisdom. In the Thirteenth century it was taken by the Roman Catholic Church and its name changed to that of St. Mary. Barring the slight alterations necessary to adapt the interior of the Greek temple to the use of the new religion it stood unchanged until 1687, when a bomb from the artillery of the Venetian army besieging the Turks in Athens was wilfully directed toward it and exploded in its interior. As a matter of pure architectural style the Parthenon has been more influential than any other edifice ever built, but the thing which gave it the greatest distinction was the sculpture with which it was adorned.

The cella of the Parthenon, that is, the rectangular enclosed interior, was surrounded by a frieze five hundred and twenty-four feet long on which the great Pan-Athenaic procession was represented in relief. The festival of this goddess took place every four years, terminating in a procession in which all the people took part. Its object was to convey to the temple the peplus or sacred veil, upon which some mythological subject had been embroidered in the Propylæa by virgins chosen from the best Athenian families. The veil was probably placed across the knees of the statue of the goddess, which stood in the center of the temple.

The sculptor represents the procession forming on the western side of the cella. Some are mounting horses, others holding back impatient steeds, others seemingly waiting for new arrivals. On the northern and southern sides there are two divisions of the procession. On the north horsemen, victors in the games, with chariots with drivers and alien residents who were obliged to bear sunshades, chairs, vases and urns to remind them of their dependence. On the south, horsemen and chariots preceded by the presiding magistrates of Athens, with deputations from the colonies bringing cattle to be sacrificed for the occasion. On the eastern side are the twelve gods, the virgins carrying gifts, and the chief magistrates who marshaled the procession. In the center a priest received the sacred peplus from the hands of a boy. The reins of the horses, the staffs and other like accessories, are now missing, but we know that they were made of metal and the hair and draperies were gilded or colored.

These reliefs, which are among the grandest works of art of all time, were viewed from below by the light which came between the fifty columns forming the peristyle or outer colonnade. The groups on the northern side are arranged with the utmost freedom and the wonderful grace and power with which they move forward in rhythmic motion is an almost perfect example of what is termed "order in disorder." There is an intentional sense

of crowding and hurrying, but among all the hundred and twenty-five mounted figures in every variety of action, there is no sense of confusion and every detail is perfectly clear. The groups on the southern side represent the more formal and regular part of the procession. The eastern and western sides are now both in ruins and parts are now in the Museum of Athens and the British Museum. Particular attention should be given the group of three goddesses commonly called the Three Fates.

Earlier sculptors had given great thought to the study of drapery, but the result was the elaboration of a stiff and formal fold rather than a near approach to the natural effect. Here the draperies are indescribably beautiful. There is the most wonderful richness, variety and truth to nature, together with perfect harmony in the relation of every part to the whole, of the drapery to the human form, of every minute fold to the general design. There is a total absence of anything accidental to mar the complete satisfaction the groups give to the spectator. There is the feeling that the creator of these figures understood so perfectly the basic laws of art that they had become part of himself. There is no striving for effect. The forms of the body are revealed or suggested by the drapery in a way entirely consistent with the material. There is no unnatural clinging of the draperies nor are they twisted into disordered folds.

Artists through all the years that have followed have tried to surpass these wonderful compositions, with their serene majesty and infinite variety. Later Greeks, like many modern artists who were influenced by this mastery of drapery, nearly always went to one extreme or another. A desire for simplicity led them to severity, and on the other hand an effort at richness and a sense of texture led to clinging draperies which give a sense of heavy or even damp material.

This sculpture was in no sense an integral or necessary part of the structure. The carving could have been omitted and the building would still have satisfied. This point is made here for future comparison. When we take up the Gothic time and its expression we will find an entirely different attitude toward architectural decoration.

The majority of these priceless sculptures, worn and broken, are now gathered in the British Museum. They are known collectively as the Elgin Marbles, so named because Thomas, Earl of Elgin, began collecting them when on a mission to Constantinople in 1802. They were purchased from him by the British Government, lost at sea enroute to England, recovered after several months, and finally placed in the museum in 1816.

The statues of gold and ivory known as the chryselephantine statues of Athene which stood in the temple, and the seated Zeus of the same ma-

terials, were, according to the ancients, the master-pieces of Phidias, but have disappeared. We have, however, a little marble copy of the Athene which was recently discovered at Athens. No copy of the Zeus has come down to us but it is thought that a beautiful marble head found some time ago reproduces the majestic features of the statue. We cannot ascribe with certainty many of the beautiful statues which are generally supposed to date from the Golden Age of Greece, to any particular artist.

The Aphrodite or Venus Genetrix received its name from the legend concerning a similar statue. A Greco-Roman artist is known to have made a statue for the temple of Venus Genetrix of Rome, and for this reason this statue was first credited to him. Although there is no certainty as to the exact date, the general concensus of opinion is that it belongs to the Fifth century B. C. Compared with other great figures of women accepted as Fifth century B. C. productions, there is nothing to deter the attribution of this Venus to an artist of that time. The pose finds its prototype in several other figures of the age; for example, the drapery fallen from the shoulder is found in the Parthenon Fates. The appearance of the statue, dressed only in the thin undergarment known as the chiton, is an innovation but is in keeping with the changes in the conception and character of the goddess which had begun to take place in the last half of the Fifth century.

The workmanship is rather poor, but even so the statue possesses a grace and charm that place it among the fine examples of Greek sculpture.

Among other statues associated with Phidias is the Apollo found in the Tiber and now in the Museo Delle Terme at Rome. It represents a youthful god, in pose and proportions quite like the figures from the Parthenon frieze. It is lighter and more graceful than the earlier Apollos. The illustration shown gives a splendid example of the Phidian type of head, the regular and simply modeled features, strong oval face characterized by a certain squareness of outline, and the richly waved hair. There are two traits which appear in nearly all heads of this kind, namely, the short distance between the eyebrow and the eyelid and the protuberance of the eyeballs. Therein we see the influence and the lingering traits of the Archaic style in treating heads, but they produce a feeling of serenity and inherent strength, qualities which can be attributed to all the Phidian work.

Before we proceed further in our study of Greek life we will try in a few words to sum up the characteristics of this best age of sculpture. First, perhaps, we have been most forcibly struck with the execution of the work. The passion for freedom was strong in the Greek at this time and when he threw off the yoke of Orientalism he was bold and daring in all his expressions. Sculptors showed a

fine disregard for the most formidable technical difficulties, with an almost perfect mastery over effects of light and shade, modeling and composition. The highest degree of vitality and energy was put into the sculpture of the Parthenon and yet none of the dignity, the correctness of outline or beauty of arrangement was sacrificed. There was perfect artistic balance and grouping, draperies were most carefully studied and wonderfully carved, faces were idealized and well modeled, though they still lacked the passion, the energy and the nobility expressed by the body. The work of the Fifth century B. C. Greek sculptors evinced the union of genius and skill in a very high degree.

It was an age when the more thoughtful men, led by the philosophers, were inclined to doubt the primitive stories of the gods but were capable of appreciating the higher and nobler conceptions of the deities which we find in contemporary poets. The delivery from despotism gave the main body of the Greeks a confidence in the gods and a gratitude to them which found expression in temples and statues. There is to some a seeming inconsistency in the artists embodying in the statues of the gods the most perfect physical forms and at the same time eliminating from them all signs of passion and emotion and the weaknesses and imperfections of mortal nature. We must bear in mind that this was an age of lofty intel-

lectual and moral perceptions, and it is little wonder that the artist rejected all that he felt to be unworthy his ideal of a god.

How long art remained upon this high level of idealism we shall soon see. It is fortunate for us of to-day that that age of great religious and intellectual ideals was likewise one of high standards of physical type and of artistic technical skill, else we would never have had bequeathed to us those wonderful examples of perfect harmony between the ideas and the embodied representations.

Age of Individualism

400 B. C.—323 B. C.

WHILE the Greeks possessed a love of political liberty and of local independence, they seemed incapable of forming a single national state united by their common interests. Only during the brief period of the Persian wars did necessity force them to drop their local pride sufficiently to unite against their enemy. As the danger from Persia passed away they gradually returned to a condition of strife and jealousy and for many years the Greek states were continually at war, trying to settle the question as to which should be supreme. First it was an attempt to deprive Athens of the proud position she held. There were the opposing interests of Dorians and Ionians, among the several remote causes of the so-called Peloponnesian War.

The Dorians, who originally occupied the plain of Thessaly, were a simple, direct, warlike race well represented by the citizens of Sparta. The Ionians were versatile, enterprising, artistic, as

seen in the citizens of Athens. The Dorians were an agricultural, the Ionians a commercial people. The former were strong in their army, the latter in their fleets; the one favoring aristocratic, the other democratic principles.

Athens interfered in the affairs of Corinth, which had sufficient maritime strength to be a commercial rival. Corinth appealed to Sparta for aid and war was declared against Athens. In the third year of the war, 429 B. C., the great Athenian statesman, Pericles, died, and Athens lost her leader at a time when she needed him most. This Peloponnesian War lasted for twenty-seven years, desolated nearly every part of the Greek world and revealed some of the worst phases of Greek character, political jealousy, local self-interest, deceit and cruelty. The Athenian walls and fortifications were broken down, her navy overcome and Athenian political supremacy was a thing of the past.

These disasters brought about a religious and political reaction and we associate with the time of reorganization, the life and teachings of Socrates, who was one of the world's most illustrious martyrs. Athens, though conquered and humiliated, never ceased to be the intellectual center of Greece. Art began to break away from a purely religious spirit and acquired more of the human character. The highest ideal of the artist seemed now to be to depict the strength, nobility,

grace and beauty of the human form and features. The Athenian character had developed by adversity and the school of philosophy founded by Socrates and carried on by Plato had its influence. It tended toward reflection and self-study and inclined to a depth and subtlety of thought such as had never before been known. The serenity, self-assurance and even satisfaction of expression of the statues we have just been studying now give way to a more meditative and what might well be called a more reasoning or intellectual art.

The two great masters of this new period were Praxiteles and Scopas. It is the work of Phidias that has won the most enthusiastic admiration of modern critics, but in popular estimation of his own times and among the later Greeks, Praxiteles was probably the most famous of the three sculptors. It is he who has been described as the man "who in the highest degree infused into marble the emotions of the soul." There is no evidence that makes us at all sure of the dates of birth of these two sculptors. They are believed to have been contemporaries, but Praxiteles seems to have come earlier in the development of sculpture, as his work is more of a reflection of what preceded than the origin of what followed. The date of his birth is given as about 380 B. C.

One of his original statues was found in 1877 at the site of the temple of Heras at Olympia.

It is a group representing Hermes, the messenger of the gods and protector and nurturer of youth, carrying the youthful Dionysius, god of wine, whom Zeus had confided to his care. The child is held in the left arm, which rests upon a tree trunk, thus providing an extra support and enabling the figure, whose weight is mainly upon the right leg, to assume the graceful, easy curve of Praxiteles and his successors. The right hand is a restoration, so we are not sure that the bunch of grapes usually seen in the illustrations was in the original. The head is slightly turned toward the child, but the gaze is beyond him; the eyes are not wide open but seem to be resting without concentration upon something distant. The pose and expression is one of reverie and our interest centers not in any physical or intellectual action but in the personality of the god and the artist's treatment of the subject.

Hermes is represented as a young man of perfect development but of no special attribute designated by any over-development or any suggestion in the detail. It is not, however, a mere abstraction or representation of the idea of the protector of youth. The treatment of this subject is quite characteristic of the work of Praxiteles. The mythological is embodied in a vividly expressed and individual personality. Praxiteles brought the gods nearer to men by making them more human and it is this very thing that makes some modern

critics prefer the work of Phidias, who ennobled the prevailing conception of the gods and thus tended to raise those who viewed his statues to an atmosphere above the merely human.

The modeling of the Hermes is wonderfully true and facile. The graceful, rhythmic sweep of the lines and surfaces of the face and figure, the distinctive features and a surface treatment which gives the marble an appearance of unusual warmth, the wonderful play of light and shade on the polished surface, all assist in making this one of the finest examples of the period. Note the change in treatment of the hair; it seems to be roughly blocked out when you examine it closely but from a distance gives an admirable impression of texture. You will not again see an attempt to imitate the actual form of the hair, but from now on you will find this picturesque modeling which is frankly an impressionistic treatment. Another distinguishing characteristic is seen in the overhanging brow and deep set eye, the artist's means of expressing the more deeply thoughtful and reflective intellect. What most impresses us in this Hermes is the remarkable combination of strength and grace, the intellectual quality of the face and the perfectly realized personality of the god are expressed in his mood of the moment.

Cephisodotus is called the master of Praxiteles. It is interesting to study for a moment a

statue credited to him. It dates probably from 370 B. C. and is known as the statue of Irene (Peace). She carries in her arms the infant Plutus (Riches), expressing that even in those days the Greeks realized that peace came bearing riches. The group shows, in proportions and draperies, close relationship to the school of Phidias. The expression of the head, inclined toward the child in tender solicitude, anticipates the sentiment that pervades the work of Praxiteles.

The Aphrodite which Praxiteles made for the Cnidians and which was set up in a temple dedicated to the goddess is perhaps one of the most famous and best known statues of the ancient world. The goddess is represented as nude, her garment just slipping down from her left hand to a vase that stands beside her. An explanation of her nudity was supplied by this indication of preparation for the bath. The representation of a goddess entirely undraped was a new departure. These early undraped statues and statuettes were of symbolic character.

There is no doubt that a goddess would never have been represented in the nude during earlier times, for the full drapery seems more consistent with the dignified and august figures of Phidian art. If the religious type had required a nude goddess she would have been so shown with as much nobility of expression as in the male fig-

ures, and no excuses offered. The half-conscious shrinking shown in this Venus is by no means consistent with a high ideal of the goddess, for it represents a goddess under human rather than divine aspects. She is the goddess of love brought down to the level of mortals rather than one capable of lifting them up to a higher plane of thought and feeling. She is treated, however, as such, with great delicacy and marvelous skill. The modeling of the head we find characteristic of the feminine ideal conceived by this master. There is the delicate oval face, the half-closed eyes with that peculiar expression which the ancients termed liquid, the eyebrows slightly marked and the hair freely modeled like that of the Hermes. There is an entire absence of any angularity or harshness of earlier periods and the half open lips give an impression of a sensitive and receptive nature rather than of any strong emotion.

The grace and charm of the statue are due to the extraordinary physical beauty of the type portrayed, to the easy flow of line and to a breadth which contrasts with the smaller and less dignified forms of later art. It is said that Phryne, the woman whose name is always associated with that of Praxiteles, posed as a model for this Aphrodite and that the character of the goddess was inferred from that of her votary. We have before noted the fact that the artist could not have, in the case of a nude

female statue, the same choice of types constantly present to his observation and memory, as in the case of male statues, and therefor the individuality of the model would tend to assert itself.

We must not get the idea that the art of this sculptor in any way tended toward the realism we later know. It is full of life and individuality but it is a personality conceived by the mind of the artist, not a mere copy of the human model before him.

We find again, in the Eros of Praxiteles, the change of ideas that the Fourth century B. C. brought about. He makes the god a dreamy youth, beautiful and intensely human, instead of the mysterious deity of former times. The story is told that when Praxiteles promised to give Phryne the most beautiful of his works she tricked him into making the decision by telling him that his studio was on fire. He named the Satyr and the Eros to be saved from the flames. She then chose the Eros. We do not know that we have any copies of these two statues, though it has been suggested that the Eros of Centocelle, called the Genius of the Vatican, is a copy of the original. The Eros of the Fifth century B. C. was merely a winged boy; now he is made the embodiment of reverie and tender sentiment. The modeling is in soft and delicate outlines appropriate to the character, with no approach to the effeminate prettiness which came later.

The Satyr coupled with the Eros in the story is supposed to be preserved in the copy known as the Capitoline Faun. A torso now in the Louvre is claimed as the original. The Faun is in the same position as the Hermes, but the right leg is more bent to make the pose less full of vitality and to suggest the sort of lounging attitude in accordance with the character of the half human, soulless creature.

The god Dionysius and his followers, Bacchantes, Mænads and Satyrs, were a familiar theme from earliest times and had been rendered with a half brutal and comic suggestiveness that fitted well with the primitive orgies in which these creatures were supposed to take part. The Fifth century gave a dignity and sense of proportion to these conceptions and the Fourth century artist found in them a psychological theme. The Faun of Praxiteles shows a youth who has been amusing himself with the flute he holds, satisfied to be at rest. It is an indolent, pleasure loving, charming and graceful figure, untroubled by any too deep thinking and yet lacking the brutal element and the intensity earlier given to Satyrs.

It seems almost as though Praxiteles had treated a solemn religious conception in a trifling and accidental manner in his Apollo Sauroktnos, "The Lizard Slayer." The god, standing with an arrow in his hand as though trying to catch with it

the lizard running up a tree, suggests a boyish pastime rather than the occupation of a deity. The sculptor seems only concerned with depicting the graces and beauty of the youthful form and the easy curve of its position. But here again we can only judge from copies and it is extremely probable that these exaggerate the softness of the figure, though still retaining the general character.

We might continue to show examples of the sculpture attributed to Praxiteles, but from those described an idea of the character of the sculptor and of his time may be gained and we will now mention briefly a lighter side of his work and then pass on to that of another master.

Numerous statuettes of terra cotta found in Greece have been attributed to him and his pupils. They are varied studies of figures, the female figures outnumbering the males, and are in a variety of poses and drapery. These subjects bring us in closer touch with Greek life than do the larger statues and are so charmingly executed as to win the admiration of critics, students and collectors.

French excavators discovered at Mativea reliefs that had ornamented the base of a group by Praxiteles. The subject is the musical contest between Apollo with his lyre and the Satyr Marsyas and his flutes, in the presence of the nine Muses. We find the prototypes of the terra cotta statuettes in these figures of the Muses. The earlier tendency

to repeat certain favorite types was continued here. Similar figures are seen on Attic tombstones and monuments. The sarcophagus of a Sidonian prince, set between the columns of an Ionic temple, has on its four sides a series of female figures in various attitudes of grief. They are known as the "Mourning Women." We see in the careful and rather artificial arrangement of the draperies a style that originated in Athens at this time and had a strong influence upon later portrait sculpture.

We now come to the master who may be called the most modern of all ancient sculptors, to Scopas, the man who gave utterance to passion in his marble creations. Praxiteles, as we have seen, expressed rather a mood or a temperament, a languorous reverie rather than actual emotion. Scopas was the inventor and the originator of the dramatic tendency in sculpture which characterizes the work that follows. It has already been stated that we are considering his sculptures after those of Praxiteles because the former seem to belong to a later development and seem to prophesy the later tendencies.

Scopas was undoubtedly older than Praxiteles and we are able to state with more certainty many of the dates of his artistic career. He built the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea and designed its sculpture after its destruction by fire in 395 B. C. He made one of the sculptured columns of the

Temple of Artemis at Ephesus when rebuilt after a fire in 356 B. C. He was one of four sculptors employed upon the tomb of Mausolus, who died in 351 B. C. There is no evidence of his doing new work later than 350 B. C., so his career is assigned to the years preceding the middle of the Fourth century B. C.

The Temple of Tegea was described as easily excelling all others in the Peloponnesus, both in size and beauty of construction and ornament. Although we have a rather complete description of the temple sculptures given us by Pausanias, the only examples extant are certain heads and fragments of limbs from the pediment. There are a boar's head, figures of dogs, two heads of heroes, one helmeted and the other uncovered; two recently discovered heads of warriors, one covered with a lion's scalp after the custom of Hercules; portions of other human figures, including the torso of a female in Amazonian dress, and a head on the same scale that probably belonged to it and may have been the figure of the huntress Atalanta.

We can form some idea of the style of the Scopas sculptures from the two heads of the heroes. The faces are not quite oval as with Praxiteles. The eyes are more deeply set and the eyebrow forms a strong projection, casting a semicircle of shadow above the eye. This, combined with the treatment

of the lips, which the illustrations show very clearly, give a dramatic value to the head, an impassioned, almost suffering expression. We feel that we are witnessing a struggle against some human desire, or the anguish of unsatisfied aspirations, and herein lay the originality of Scopas.

There appears in the heads of the boar and the dog the same overshadowing of the eye. This is the manner of modeling in each one of the human faces with but one exception; the upper eyelid is so lifted and the eyebrow so overshadows the outer corner of the eye that the impression is given that the gaze is fixed upon the distance. The dilated nostril, the parted lips, in some cases showing the teeth, added to the treatment of the eye, gives an impression of intensity and strain such as is not seen in any other ancient sculpture.

The subjects of the two pediments of the temple, as described by Pausanias, are in one case a conflict in which intensity of passion was followed by a pathetic and dramatic situation, and in the other a combat with a terrible monster, so we know they were of a nature to justify the passionate expression of the face.

The head, supposed to be that of Atalanta, we find entirely lacks this intensity. The face is full of life but is serene and the treatment of the eye is more like that of Praxiteles. It is probable Scopas wished by contrast to show that she was something

other than human, or perhaps the overshadowing of the eye was at this time an experiment possibly applied only to the male head, though in his later work and in work influenced by him the same intensity of gaze is expressed in female heads.

Various statues of Aphrodite by Scopas are recorded, one of them in which he is supposed to have rivaled Praxiteles in rendering the goddess in the nude. The Demeter of Cnidus is attributed to Scopas or his followers. It is an interesting statue which was originally set up in the precinct of the gods of the Lower World at Cnidus. We see in it the impersonation of a mother mourning the loss of her child, which is a new theme. The sorrow is subtly expressed and at first glance we fail to detect its intensity, but a closer study shows us how the artist has portrayed with wonderful restraint and refinement the grief and the suffering which has hollowed the cheek and wasted the tissues around the eye socket.

It is this head that has been selected by one writer to justify his refutation of the prevailing idea that "while Greek art is supreme in beauty of form, it is surpassed by Christian art in depth of expression." When we compare it with some of the later Greek art and with many of the ascetic, distorted forms and features seen in Christian art, we really rise to a higher appreciation of this rare head.

We find in the statue of Ares Ludovisi an anticipating of the taste of a later age. The position shows the self-restraint of a passionate nature quite in keeping with the idea of a war god and quite characteristic of the school of Scopas. It is not, however, an unusual pose in sculpture but impresses us as one restrained from action by thoughts that conflict with the natural temperament. It is possible that a figure now lost once stood at the side of this one and furnished the key to those thoughts. The plain Eros is an addition of Roman copyists.

The third great sculptor of this period was Lysippus, who worked principally in bronze and was the accredited sculptor of Alexander the Great. His art evidences a reaction against the Attic art of the time, which tended to overemphasize sentiment and inclined toward effeminacy and sensuality.

Lysippus was born at Sicyon, a town in the Peloponnesus, and he declared his sole teachers had been nature and the figure of an athlete by Polycletus. His works varied from colossal figures to statuettes and were widely scattered over the mainland of Greece and Magna Græcia. It was to him all the schools of the Hellenistic age looked as their accepted master and under his influence were originated many of the most characteristic developments of Greek art in the East. Like Polycletus, he made many statues of Olympian and other victors.

He is said to have embodied his theory of sculpture in a single statue, the *Apoxyomenos* of the Vatican. It is an athletic type or ideal rather than the statue of an individual. He said that he made men not as they actually were but as they appeared to the eye, the essential principle of impressionism.

The portraits of Alexander were the most famous of the works of Lysippus during ancient times, but to-day we are rather undecided as to which of the numerous portraits we may ascribe to him. Alexander himself preferred his portraits to those of other artists of the Macedonian court, for he declared that Lysippus alone "displayed his character and showed his manliness as well as his beauty of feature, while others, striving to imitate the turn of his neck and the liquid and melting glance of his eyes, lost his virile and leonine aspect."

The head of Alexander in the British Museum has rather recently been assigned to Lysippus. Upon close examination we discover the same curious combination of characteristics already noticed in other Fourth century sculpture and find that it gives the impression of power and passionate sensibility which was peculiar to the work of Lysippus. The upturned gaze, the delicate rendering of the lower eyelid, the mouth with its hint of sensuality and even cruelty, the whole expression one of a generous though undisciplined nature, suggest his

weaknesses and at the same time impress us as being the portrait of a man who could not only win battles but could enthuse and inspire and spread throughout the world the ideas to which he himself was ardently devoted. The whole impresses us as being a true portrait of the Alexander we know.

The famous Borghese Warrior in the Louvre is thought to be a reproduction of a Lysippus, even though the artist signed his name Agasias of Ephesus. He is now generally supposed to have been only the copyist. There are a number of copies of Lysippus statues of women and goddesses, of which the Venus de Medici at Florence is the most notable. Another of equal merit is a draped figure discovered at Herculaneum. The head is one of the most exquisite antique creations and sculptors are still trying to attain the same simplicity and elegance of the draperies of the full statue.

Lysippus was no copyist or imitator. He modified the work he took for his inspiration and guide by an evident leaning to greater elegance. It was he who increased the length of the body, making it nearly eight times the length of the head instead of seven, which seems to have been the previous rule. He also made more prominent the joints and muscles of the body. You do not find in his heads the reverie of a Praxiteles or the intense passion of a Scopas; they are rather of the expressive, controlled and refined type.

The artists who worked with Scopas on the mausoleum before mentioned are known, and though trained students by close study can assign the various figures to the different artists with a considerable degree of certainty, we shall here consider the work as a whole. Two fine statues representing Mausolus and Artemisia, his wife, crowned the work. The statue of Mausolus is of great interest in that it is one of the oldest Greek portraits known and more remarkable because it was the face of a Parian, a semi-barbarian, and not that of a Helene. The draperies are modeled with almost perfect knowledge of light and shadow and represent a progress that resulted in a masterpiece of classic drapery that we shall later note.

The bas-relief of the sarcophagus depicts a battle of Greeks and Amazons. It shows the inclination of the time for active movement, the picturesque and effective, so different from the friezes we saw in the Parthenon decoration. The finest of detail, however, does not prevent a certain amount of vigor that but just hints at a tendency which may become excessive refinement, mere prettiness, unless checked as we have seen Lysippus attempt to check it.

Among the statues assigned to this period is the well known one of Niobe and her children struck down by the arrows of Apollo and Artemis. Several antique copies varying in treatment have

been preserved in museums. Even in classical times it was a much debated question whether this conception should be credited to Scopas or Praxiteles. Modern critics are generally of the opinion that it represents the school of Scopas.

Niobe and her youngest daughter occupy the center of the composition. In a copy of this center group now in Florence, the mother who sees her daughter killed before her eyes is wonderfully treated with the greatest simplicity and none of the anguished contortions of later periods. The child is a remarkable conception and the transparent tunic clinging close to the little body is beautifully executed and presages the mastery of drapery which culminated in the Victory of Samothrace.

The date of this statue of Victory, which is now in possession of the Louvre, is about 306 B. C. It was carved to commemorate a naval battle off the Island of Cyprus gained by Demetrius Poliorcetes over the Egyptian General Ptolemy. At the time of its production both the schools of Lysippus and Scopas were flourishing and it was the latter whose influence must have inspired this famous marble sculpture.

The keynote of the great popularity of this Victory of Nike is found in the mastery over space which we feel at once. She seems to be actually moving through space. There is a victorious swing to the body, impelled by an irresistible

energy. The very marble seems animated and the wind-swept draperies, the clinging of the close-fitting tunic, are so exquisitely modeled that we have one of the finest expressions of movement left us by antique artists. The sculptor succeeded in expressing muscular strength combined with grace and also gives very clearly in the draperies a sense of the force of the winds of the sea. The Victory of Samothrace makes so strong an appeal to the layman that the supercritical who say that its subject is out of the pale of true sculpture receive but little attention and less sympathy.

No other statue of ancient art has so completely absorbed the interest of intelligent people as the marble statue of Aphrodite of Melos. It was found in 1820 on the island of Melos by French explorers and presented to Louis XVIII, who placed it in the Louvre. We more often see and hear the name Venus de Milo, which was given the statue in the continental endeavor to spell the word Melos as it ought to be pronounced. The Greek name for the goddess was Aphrodite. Venus is the Latin equivalent and also the common French name and has gained currency because this particular statue became known through French publications.

This universally admired sculpture is one of the really worthy subjects upon which popular admiration is generously bestowed. Human maturity and beauty are combined in this exquisite

female figure with divine majesty and self reliance. She is designed to satisfy the beauty-loving taste of spectators by her general grandeur and the perfection of modeling of the various parts. Just where in artistic development, to what age of Greek art to assign this statue, has been the subject of many a controversy. Even the title of the statue is questioned for there are those who believe it to be a representation of the goddess of the sea, Amphitrite, who originally held a trident in the left hand, and ascribed the work to the time of Phidias, saying it is neither dreamy, nervous nor impassioned, but that the beauty is all noble simplicity and calm dignity like that of the sculpture of the Parthenon. Others credit it to the First century B. C., but this would seem to give us an inexplicable anachronism, a creation of highest rank in art produced during the period of the decadence.

Until further evidence has been produced which gives foundations for better reasons than some critics have yet advanced, we feel quite safe in saying that this statue was produced some time during the Hellenic period, and probably about the time of Praxiteles. No explanation of the statue so far advanced has been entirely satisfactory. The two arms are lacking and the fallen drapery hides from us the object upon which the lifted leg is supported. One restoration represents the goddess contemplating herself in the polished shield of Ares,

after a statue described by Pausanias. She holds the shield in her hands and rests it upon the raised knee.

However greatly we differ in opinion as to the date of the statue and the personality and meaning of the pose, we all agree that in this present age of turmoil we look upon the Aphrodite of Melos with the greatest satisfaction and delight because in it we see some of the highest expressions that we as a people lack. The statue expresses the very essence and genius of the highest things in Greek life and thought, a perfect mental and physical poise, serenity and calm with no approach to apathy.

Again we interrupt our study of special statues, exemplifying certain traits, to sum up the characteristics and discover the trend in development of the period represented by Praxiteles, Scopas and Lysippus and their pupils. We have seen Greek art running its course from the embryonic work of the Archaic period through the idealistic Phidian stage to this third development, which we may term the age of individualism. With the throwing off of the self restraint of earlier times there seems to have been some loss of dignity and of ideal moral beauty. Less that is divine and more that is human or individual appeared in the statues. The faces became less conventional and in them the artist portrayed as had never been done

before human intellect and emotion. Wonderful technical skill was attained and we shall always find much to admire in the statues of this kind and much that is most worthy of study, even though we think of the age as one that left behind it the lofty aims that it possessed in earlier days. The artistic attainment was certainly more skillful, the religious import of the work certainly less, but those who altogether deny religious ideals to the Fourth century go further than history or artistic expression attest. Some of the gods who came very near to the life of man and were worshiped with a real belief in their power and benevolence found at this time their fullest expression in art.

The Hellenistic Age

323 B. C.—146 B. C.

THE failure of the Greek States to develop a national government, either in the form of a permanent confederacy or by submitting to the leadership of one of their own number, led to the final loss of the freedom they were so determined to preserve. The supremacy they were unwilling to concede to Athens, to Sparta, or to Thebes, they were at last obliged to yield to Macedonia, and the interference of this new power in the internal affairs of Greece marked a crisis in Greek history. Macedonia not only established her power over the Greek States but also over the countries of Western Asia, so that Greece and the Orient became united in a common world empire. Even more important than the establishment of this political authority was the subsequent diffusion of Greek genius among the peoples of the East. We have witnessed the tide of Orientalism which flowed toward the *Ægean*, and now Hellenism turns back toward the Orient. .

As we consider the movement by which Greek civilization and language gradually extended over the East, while at the same time Greek thought, life and art degenerated, there is a point which should be held in mind; that the culture developed by the Greeks themselves was called Hellenic, while the term Hellenistic was applied to Greek culture modified by Oriental influences. Your attention once called to this use of the terms will prevent any misunderstanding or misuse of them, such as is occasionally found in treatises on Greek art and life. The Hellenistic influence spread as far east as the Indus, but its chief centers were the countries on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean; Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt.

Macedonia was a country north of Thessaly. Its people were racially related to the Greeks but had not developed as rapidly and were in a semi-barbarous condition. They came in contact with Greek colonies in the low lands and were there affected by the refining influences. When Thebes was the center of Greek power, the Macedonians, who had been steadily growing in power as a people, became threatening, so the Thebans invaded the country, checked the ambition of the ruler and brought back to Thebes the young Prince Philip as a hostage, and here he became fitted for his future work as king of Macedonia.

Philip was appointed regent of his kingdom in 359 B. C. and in a short time proclaimed himself king. His chief ambition was to become master of Greece. He first interfered in the affairs of the Athenian colonies and eventually extended his kingdom and just before his assassination crushed the armies of Athens.

Alexander the Great, son of Philip, was only twenty years old when he came to the throne, but nature and education had fitted him for a career that in some respects has no parallel in history. He finished the subjection of Greece, conquered successively Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, Persia and the north of India, and died at Babylon in 323 B. C., the first world conqueror.

Greek civilization was thus established from the Nile to the banks of the Oxus and Indus rivers. The intellectual supremacy was established throughout the Great Empire, although politically, after Alexander's death, it was divided among his generals.

There was a later effort made by Athens to throw off the Macedonian yoke, but it was unsuccessful and from this point on the national life of Greece was a thing of the past. The small Greek States with their free cities were merged into monarchies with hereditary sovereigns wielding almost absolute power. We know from this political change that there must have been a corresponding

change in all forms of life and expression. Artists, dramatists and writers must now work to please sovereigns and to make new capitals more attractive. Perfection of expression and workmanship, the seeking after high ideals, gave place to an effort toward effect, a desire to impress the observer. It must not be inferred from this that we are to expect no great works of art during a period of this sort, but we have a right to expect that all expressions of life will be less spontaneous, for under such conditions the artist constantly has borne in upon him the fact that those in authority must be pleased or he will fail of opportunities.

We find all through this period not only constant deference to the traditions of early Greece, but ever present testimony to the profound influence of the great masters of life and thought of Athens; yet in spite of these influences we find that life at this time underwent a very complete transformation and in a sense a decadence. Let us turn again to sculpture. In it we will find these statements verified and also find that this grafting of Greek life and thought upon Oriental stems resulted in many new elements which have become the heritage of modern art.

There were many great sculptors during this period, but though men of vigorous talent producing work worthy of a place with other antique sculpture, we have no record or proof by means of

which we can assign certain work to individual artists. Pliny, the Greek historian, tells us that after the great sculptors of the Fourth century B. C. there followed a period of stagnation in art, but in spite of the absence of names of masters modern critics attribute this statement to the fact that the authorities upon whom he depended happened to fail Pliny at this point.

Those who decry Greek art after Phidias, just as those who decry Hellenism as compared with the life of Athens, are most woefully lacking in a comprehensive outlook and are exactly like the people who see only the mistakes and evil tendencies of the present age and who continually harp upon the good old times of long ago. If Greek art had made no further progress after producing the Parthenon it would have been in its way an incomplete art. We can no more appreciate or comprehend Greek life by the study of any one period, even its best, than we can know anything of the meaning of history by poring over the stories of one age or even one nation.

The changes that occurred in the subjects, in the workmanship, in conceptions, were necessary for the forward movement of artistic expression. Without the daring of innovators who possessed the courage to break away from all tradition, who experimented not always with attained success, art, like philosophy, like commerce and

like every other industry and effort in life, would have degenerated instead of furnishing the clues for new world geniuses to ponder and to develop. We could not return to any past age of civilization and culture if we would, and we would not if we could. The narrowly educated, the over-esthetic, the super-refined have always maintained that one age or one nation contained all that was good. No statement could be more false. All races and all periods of time are charged with priceless treasures for the future. It is a rash man who attempts to cast aside any people or any period in the world's history as being valueless in the long epoch of human development.

Rhodes and Pergamon were two points where art maintained a certain independence and originality at this time. We know most about the capital of Pergamon, to the north of Smyrna. The Gauls had devastated Delphi in 278 B. C., and in 240 B. C. they invaded Asia Minor but were repulsed by King Attalus of Pergamon. Attalus, to commemorate the victory, had erected bronze statues representing the vanquished Gauls. Marble copies of these were found in Rome in the early Sixteenth century. One is that of a Gaul killing himself after having slain his wife to escape the shame of slavery. Another is the famous statue usually known as the Dying Gladiator. This title is now thought to be incorrect, as the man is clearly a Gaul. His neck is

encircled by a torque, the twisted wire ornament of the Gauls, and the physical type is not Greek, but rather that of a robust barbarian. In the treatment of the marble surfaces of this statue there is seen the influence of Lysippus and it is usually attributed to his school. It is no new subject, but like themes were given a different treatment in the Fourth century. There is here a return to realism such as appeared in Archaic work and which was for a time partially or wholly lost. It shows a knowledge both of anatomy and ethnology and in the rough, massive strength of the Gaul, in his hardness of muscle and of skin, in the matted hair and furrowed brow and in the stubborn stoicism with which he meets his death, we find a new conception. The interest and sympathy of the artist is clearly shown in this realistic and pathetic sculpture.

Another king of Pergamon, Eumenes II, commemorated other military successes by the erection of a colossal altar in white marble dedicated to Zeus, the remains of which have been brought to light. A frieze in high relief on the base represents a contest between gods and giants, a probable allusion to the combat between the Gauls and the Greeks of Asia. Over three hundred feet of this frieze is now in the Berlin Museum and shows us one of the most imposing achievements of antiquity. The figures are six feet high and the first effect upon the spectator is probably exactly what

was originally intended, for one is almost awed by the profusion of incidents and the wonderful mastery of materials shown in the carving.

Very marked defects are found upon closer study. There is the characteristic frequently found in works of art created for the glory of some sovereign. The artist, to gain effect and to make the first impression one of dazzling wonder, sacrificed the beauty of perfect proportion and tended toward exaggeration. Seen too often, the intensity of action, violence and excitement, weary you. The study of various groups is well worth while, for seldom is there found a mightier figure than that of the warring Zeus as conceived and executed by the sculptor of this frieze.

Physical suffering so realistically treated was carried to the limit in the well known Laocoön of the Vatican. It was sculptured some time during the First century B. C., according to the latest evidences. The critics have credited it to various periods, but it surely belongs to the Hellenistic Age. The restoration of the statue is now believed to be partially incorrect. The right arm of Laocoön was undoubtedly originally bent back, with the hand resting on the head just above the right ear, where the end of a lock of hair is cut away, and the arm of the younger son, who is almost dead, should fall limp at his side. The story of Laocoön was well known in antiquity and was current in various forms.

The best known legend, derived from Virgil, makes Laocoön an innocent man suffering at the hands of unjust gods. Our instincts revolt against witnessing such anguish if it be the unjust fate of an innocent man. In Sophocles' tragedy of Laocoön, written in the Fifth century B. C., we find that the priest met a just punishment because of shameful deeds. As an example of skill in portraying such anguish this statue is unsurpassed, and when we look at the distorted body of the priest writhing in the extremes of pain, or at his face, still retaining indications of noble features, we understand why Pliny said "Laocoön is to be preferred to all other statues and paintings."

This impressive work makes evident to us the peculiarities of the art of Rhodes, and whatever our feeling concerning the subject, we recognize immediately that it is a master work. It is throughout developed with an aim toward the greatest effect. The composition would be impossible in real life. The forms were unquestionably taken from anatomical studies, but the over-detailed muscles are too studied, too distinct and separate to be natural. They are wanting in proper proportion and so are lacking in a feeling of reality. You feel that the bodies are marble rather than real human forms. It is pathetic to the highest degree but at the same time lacks the power to convince. It is too frankly horrible, offering no

excuse, no ethical principle in justification, so that the spectator feels somewhat as though the artist had exceeded his right in displaying such an unpleasant and inexplicable scene of human suffering.

It lacks the tragic power of the legend because it gives no hint as to the cause of all the suffering. Were it not for that innate and brutal curiosity which most of us possess but seldom acknowledge, we would find no attraction in this much talked of, much studied statue. Yet we must concede its wonder in composition and effect and our admiration finally rests on the sculptor rather than upon the work. This is the great reason why many critics cry out against Hellenistic art, for this is probably the strongest example of the tendency to set technical mastery above intrinsic merit.

The same criticism is true of the great work called the Farnese Bull, the creation of two artists. This group, according to Pliny, was in Rhodes but was later carried to Rome. To-day it is in the National Museum at Naples. The suggestion for the group was probably taken from Antiope, a tragedy by Euripides. Antiope, the daughter of King Nycteus of Thebes, angered her father by her love for Zeus. Dirce, the cruel Queen of Thebes, designed an awful fate for Antiope and selected Antiope's sons to execute her plan. When they were bidden to tie their mother to the horns

of the bull they turned against the queen, meting out to her the punishment intended for Antiope. There is a question as to whether the statue is an original or a copy, but it is such a huge group it seems probable that it is a restored and reconstructed original.

In the chief view of the statue Antiope does not appear nor does she enter into the action. Her figure seems only to serve the purpose of filling in a space, thus strengthening the contention of some of the critics that the group is copied from a painting, the argument being that in the statue the necessity for rendering the bull in its entire length led to an unpleasant empty space back of Amphion, the original artist with true Hellenistic sympathy refraining from painting her, for her presence ought to temper the fierceness of the youths' wrath. Were she absent from the sculptured group we would feel the justice or at least could better excuse the righteous anger of the sons and have a firmer belief in her innocence and purity. She confounds our sympathy by her evident willingness to see the other woman suffer. We feel that she is an unpleasant addition, marring the interest of the group, and that in adding her to complete the composition the artist virtually acknowledges his aim to be technical skill. A thing so evidently apart robs the composition of unity and harmony in treatment of the subject.

The Apollo Belvedere was discovered about 1492. Its influence was tremendous, as we shall find later, because it inspired the style which reached its culmination in the work of Michael Angelo. It passed into the possession of Guillano della Rovere, who, as Julius II when he became Pope, commissioned Bramante to convert the courtyard of the Vatican Belvedere into a sculpture gallery for the preservation of fine statues. There was placed this marble statue and also the Laocoön discovered in the Sixteenth century A. D.

Just where in the calendar of Greek art to place this Apollo critics have long been at a loss to know, but it surely belongs to the Hellenistic period shortly after the death of Alexander. Although modern critics of the over-esthetic type have tried to belittle the value of this statue, it is one that will outlive such criticism and continue to win the admiration first given it by the Fifteenth century artists.

This Apollo was the earliest antique statue of the first class to be properly placed before the artistic world. It at once assumed a dominant role, for it proclaimed the importance of structure, drawing, repose, dignity, and all the splendid qualities which until that moment had long been lost. It is the copy of a bronze statue and that in turn may have been a copy from a painting. The body offers a complete contrast to those of the gods and

giants in the frieze of Pergamon, where the muscles were strongly emphasized. There is greater elegance and refinement in the Apollo, which inclines us to think that it was influenced by Lysippus and his school rather than by that of Scopas.

The god has just hurled a dart and his expression is one of wrath. The whole figure gives us an impression of a restless and impetuous nature instead of the calm, self-controlled being which we might have expected in an earlier Greek production. This tendency toward vehemence is a characteristic of the sculptures of the gods during the Hellenistic period. The Apollo Belvedere seems to be stepping forward and the sculptor showed great skill in representing the movement. There is a beautiful head of Apollo in the British Museum which bears some likeness to the head of Apollo Belvedere. What the cause of the suffering here expressed may have been we cannot know, though it has been suggested that it was the agitation of a musical frenzy.

Another group showing the expression of suffering through the modeling of the features is that of a Centaur and Eros. The little god astride the Centaur's back is tormenting the great animal, and because Eros can spread his wings and fly beyond the reach of the Centaur and return again and again, we see an expression of agony and hopelessness in the Centaur's half turned head. This is

a symbolic representation such as the Hellenistic artists were fond of sculpturing and Eros inflicts no physical wounds. He is here the symbol of the pangs of love and in the Centaur's face we read the tale of an unhappy or unsatisfied passion.

We might continue our survey of Hellenistic art and illustrate the vigorous, exaggerated style of Pergamon and other Asiatic schools and the somewhat academic style of Greece itself, but those given show how the traditions of Greek masters of sculpture persisted through generations and how the new influences were at work throughout the Hellenistic world.

Our historical study shows us how the Greeks, starting from a belief such as is common to many primitive religions, in the superhuman powers and sanctity of certain objects, were enabled by their vivid imagination first to think of the gods as having human forms and then make the images of those gods in human shape. As art progressed in the development of a physical type of perfect beauty and also in expressing character by means of human figures and features, it was possible to embody the various ideals of divinity in their sculptures.

The artist shared, with the people for whom he worked, a belief in the reality of these ideals. They were not merely philosophic aspects of the divine nature, but real beings who could

manifest themselves to worshipers in this human form, beings who could protect and guide and inspire. Then came the more vivid realization of the personality of the gods. By bringing them nearer to the human level, it made the worship of their images less easy for the thoughtful minds to accept in any literal sense and tended to lead the common people toward a more material belief, one far less spiritually exalted.

It is curious to see the step that followed, for it is a return to the basic principle of the primitive expression of belief, though on a much more developed plane. Reason forbade the worship of objects, beautiful though they might be. The realistic tendency in art and the materialistic trend of thought resulted in a symbolism in which the symbol itself was regarded as a mere convention. The inspiration and actual communion between men and gods through ideal images was no longer sought. Greek art was the means of making clear and strong the ideals of the various periods of Greek development. Through their daring to put into visible forms their ideas concerning the invisible, the Greeks passed out of a state of idolatry and elevated the individual from thralldom to the blind forces of nature to a position of self-understanding and moral freedom.

Man had to break away from the old gods whose rule annulled human freedom and find new

gods and finally one God whose rule was in accordance with freedom. Socrates set himself this task and discovered in man a universal divine element which is the measure of all things. Can we name a greater discovery made by any human being, or any other that renders possible ethical and moral life, whether individual, social or political?

We insist that the Hellenistic tendencies in art are important and represent a necessary stage in human evolution. How could we leave out of the history of human development so important an age and find causes for what followed? After having fixed the types of gods and heroes, of Amazons and athletes, art had still to render the individual man. It had still to create portraiture and go yet further and include in its realm beings who were neither gods nor Greeks, for Greece had become cosmopolitan and must represent with due regard for reality and artistic sense, barbarians such as the Gaul.

We have seen the results. Art, like all expression and education, was not to be for the few. All these things became universal and not special in subject and treatment. When the Oriental and Greek civilizations mingled, in the late years of Greek influence, the germ of expression which would become comprehensible to all men in all times found its birth. Genre sculpture, that is,

the familiar treatment of familiar themes, scarcely existed during the most characteristic period of Greek life, but the example set by Egypt was developed by the Alexandrians and we have also witnessed it in the reliefs of Pergamon.

A point so far untouched concerns the representation of nature. Only gods and men had interested artists up to this so-called decadent Hellenistic age. It was the Hellenistic artist who taught the art of landscape to the world. Rural scenes made their appearance in painting, statuary and bas-reliefs. They began to consider something beside man and animals. The men of Athens were much concerned with man's adjustment to such unknown forces as mind and spirit. These later Oriental Greeks interested themselves in his adjustment to his physical surroundings.

The Greek solutions of the problems of philosophy were simple, fresh, and in a large degree the only original solutions. Their first philosophizing began in the Seventh century B. C. and was an attempt to explain upon some definite basis of fact, the beginnings and workings of the world of the senses, instead of leaving it all to an infinity of gods and goddesses. Observation and thought then began to take the place of fancy and imagination.

The earliest philosophers were comparable to present day scientists in that they were con-

stantly in search of facts and their relationships. Man's supply of facts was limited in those early days and the constant effort of thinkers was to gather new facts and so correlate them with facts already known that man could come to a better understanding of nature and the universe.

The prevailing characteristic of the second and what might be fittingly termed the golden period of Greek philosophy was the repeated emphasis placed upon the contention that truth and reality are incorporated into reason; that mind is above and beyond nature. Hence this period and its masters, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, are termed rationalistic. The teachings of these men represent the finest flowering of Greek mental activity.

What has been called the supra-rational period of Greek thought was the last. Its results present a decadence from the clearness of reason and purity of conclusion of the preceding time. The Greeks as a nation had become extended and diffused. The colonies, with life and thought colored by their surroundings, were assuming an importance of their own. Schools of philosophy developed which endeavored to combine the teachings of the earlier Greeks with the beliefs of other nationalities and the results are only interesting to the student of the growth and history of philosophy. They were cloudy and diffused and made little addition to the sum of human knowledge.

Philosophy turned toward theology and in both the same effort was apparent toward definition and an elaborate exposition of what the masters had taught.

Greek life and thought pervaded the ancient world and was itself contaminated by the double weaknesses of luxury and cruelty of the Oriental. There came with these a wiliness and trickery which appears to have been a curiously natural offspring of Greek intellectuality. It was an era when the great ideas of the golden age of glorious Athens seem to have lost their hold on the world. Sentiment, simplicity and high thinking gave way to polish, manners and artificiality. During this Greek decadence Rome had gradually been strengthening and growing in regularity and method. She absorbed such Greek culture as she could use or assimilate, by so doing being herself tremendously influenced, and Greece as a nation gradually and surely faded away.

No nation, ancient or modern, has ever reached the heights attained by the Greeks in mentality, alertness, judgment, exquisite taste and all of the qualities which are essential to a highly developed civilization, but the Greek had no ability for consolidating or combining. His reiterated teaching was the importance of the individual. When all is said, the explanation of all this must be left to the undefinable and altogether unsatis-

factory word "genius." In the same way no satisfactory explanation has been given as to why so many great men appeared in Greece in so short a time. The world needed them and was ready for them and they came.

Our heritage from Greek life and Greek thought is so all-embracing that it is difficult to cover the subject in a few words, particularly when entire volumes have been devoted to it. The Greek appreciation of form and the Greek admiration for logical thinking was the greatest the world has yet known.

Greek poetry and laws of versification have had the greatest influence upon English poetry. They were just as exacting in their requirements for form in prose, and the history of Herodotus, the biography of Plutarch and the rhetoric and oratory of Demosthenes are still considered models.

Greek models in architecture and sculpture have been never ceasing in their influence for purity and simplicity. Europe was trained to accuracy of thought by the logic of the Greeks and it was the clear statement of the geometric elements of Euclid which has made it the basis of all our study of higher mathematics. They knew the laws of mechanics, optics and astronomy and studied geography, zoology and botany, from which they developed medicine.

The Greek genius was so alive, so inextinguishable, that their attitude toward life has been spoken of as "thoroughly modern." Open debate in all grades of society was a necessity of their everyday life. They were also great traders, which resulted in the establishment of fixed laws and definite methods of credit.

They founded close reasoning and subtlety of analysis and elaborated a system of ethics which has never been surpassed except by revelation.

They ran their course, and another civilization to the west of them came to dominate the world.

Early Rome

HORACE tells us that it was not until the conquest of Greece that art found its way into Italy, and "captive Greece introduced the arts to rustic Latium." In this there is a certain amount of truth, the subjugation of Greece did enlarge a world that Greek learning had already opened to the Romans and instilled into the conquering race some of the spirit of the conquered; in the intellectual sphere it was Greece, not Rome, that came forth victorious from the conflict. Admitting this, we must yet bear in mind that civilization was no alien to Italian soil before the period when Greece was vanquished.

The old school of writers who saw in everything Roman a distorted reflection of Hellenistic art is not wholly to be credited. Recent study of the subject has changed the once prevalent idea that Roman life was a mere degenerate and imitative version of the Greek. The imitation of Greek works was an important factor in Roman art; the victorious generals of Rome enriched their city

with a quantity of Greek masterpieces, but in many things Rome was original.

The wealth of Rome attracted Greek artists who found purchasers for their copies of the works of the Greek masters but this invasion of Italy did not interfere with a development of Roman life which appears rather as the continuation of a life native to Italy than as a degenerate form of Greek life.

We must look in another direction to discover the real origin of Roman life. We cannot form any fair estimate of its antiquity or successive stages of development without taking into account the part played from prehistoric times by Etruria in Italian civilization. Every part of Italy was already peopled long before the city of Rome was founded. Many of these people came from the north around the head of the Adriatic, pushing their way south into different points of the peninsula. Others came from Greece by way of the sea, settling upon the southern coast.

It is not possible to say precisely how Italy was settled. We know that most of the early settlers spoke an Indo-European or Aryan language and that when they appeared in Italy they were scarcely civilized, living upon their flocks and herds and just beginning to cultivate the soil. The largest part of the peninsula was occupied by a number of tribes which made up the so-called

Italic race. There were in the central division, six counties or subdivisions, of which Etruria was inhabited by the most remarkable people.

Their origin is shrouded in mystery, but tradition has it that they emigrated from the east by land or sea. We know nothing of their language, as the series of inscriptions left us has not been interpreted. Their religion was a gloomy and weird superstition, in which they thought they could discover the will of the gods by means of augury, but in the sphere of art there is much to be learned about these people and their culture.

Roman history may in a large way be divided into five periods:

- I. 750 B. C.—510 B. C.
The Mythical Period of Kings.
- II. 510 B. C.—265 B. C.
Patricians and Plebeians and Constitutional Struggles.
- III. 265 B. C.—145 B. C.
Beginnings of Universal Rule of Rome.
- IV. 145 B. C.—30 B. C.
Rome the World Power.
- V. 30 B. C.—475 A. D.
The Decline and Fall.

The Etrurians developed a flourishing civilization, important evidences of which have survived in town walls, ruins of temples, tombs ornamented with sculptures and paintings, statues,

terra cottas, bronzes and various kinds of ornaments. We can in these relics distinguish four stages of development. The earliest works are evidently the products of local races before the eastern immigration, the second period shows the Oriental influence, then comes the Greek element and finally another wave of the Oriental due partly to the Phœnicians and partly to the Ionic Greek colonists. These combined form Etruscan art.

The earliest traces of this civilization show the inhabitants were lake dwellers hardly one stage removed from the conditions of the New Stone Age, for the pottery and weapons were of the crudest kind and the beginnings of Etruscan civilization date from the later Bronze Age of Central Europe.

The forms of the tombs and their contents give us a clue to the growth of culture. The earliest tombs are in the shape of pits or shafts and contain the simplest kind of pottery. Later the tombs are in the form of trenches, the pottery shows little advance, but there is a marked advance shown by the metal work, especially in bronze. Greek importations also appear in the shape of Corinthian vases. Later still the tombs are large corridors or chambers, often adorned with paintings. In one, the Grotto di Iside at Vulci, were found scarabs and small statuettes of bronze in a style partly local, partly foreign. Specimens of elaborate metal

work, gold ornaments and bronze vessels have been recovered from other tombs.

Etruscan civilization was at its height from 600 to 300 B. C., at which time its most characteristic art was produced, and it is from this point that we can actually first begin to trace its continuity with the civilization of the Romans. All the remains of this period in Rome are purely Etruscan in origin and character. The Etruscan sculpture left us is almost entirely in bronze or terra cotta. It exhibits a combination of two tendencies, the Archaic Greek influence and an inherent love of naturalism. The conflict of the two is plainly evident in such bronze work as the "Wolf of the Capitol" in the Conservatory Palace at Rome.

This work holds for us another interest, as in it is preserved the ancient legend of the founding of the city of Rome as told by the historian Livy and sung by Virgil. It recalls the story of the wanderings of *Æneas* and his band of Trojan warriors after the fall of Troy, their landing upon the shores of Latium, the miraculous birth of the twin boys Romulus and Remus, of their being thrown into the Tiber and their rescue by the wolf near the foot of the Palatine Hill.

This traditional account of the founding of Rome by Romulus, after he had killed Remus in a quarrel, has been proven by modern investigation to be unlike many traditional accounts in hav-

ing no foundation whatever in fact. The date of 753 B. C. and the 20th of April were given as the time of foundation of the city, but the facts are that the actual date of the foundation is unknown nor is anything positively known of the circumstances, particularly as the site was not naturally adapted to a large community.

The tendency to naturalism, an essential Italian quality, formed the chief characteristic of all native work. It is not surprising then that portraiture from the first appealed to these people more than to the Greeks. The desire to reproduce individual characteristics became so strong that idealism of subjects and elegance of form were frequently wanting.

One of the earliest bronze works in existence is a bust from the Polledrara Tomb now in the British Museum. There is in the same museum a series of bronzes which were found near the Lake of Falterona; among them a lifelike head of a bearded man not at all Greek in style, purely Etruscan and very evidently intended for a portrait.

It was the practice of the Etruscans to place the ashes of the dead in terra cotta urns which were either modeled into human form or took the shape of sarcophagi with an effigy of the deceased on the cover. The earliest specimens are jars with rudely modeled faces on the covers and arms attached; finally the vase form is lost entirely

and they become human effigies with an intentional likeness to the deceased, placed in a sitting posture on the receptacle for the ashes.

There are many examples of small rectangular receptacles in stone and terra cotta with effigies sculptured on the top, the front adorned with reliefs, the whole richly colored. The figures in the reliefs are treated in the realistic manner characteristic of the Assyrians and in many cases the upper part of the body is seen in full while the head and legs are in profile like the Oriental drawings.

The earliest paintings in the tombs show crude animal representations. There are a number of terra cotta slabs, of a later date, now in the British Museum and Louvre. Many are decorated with scenes from daily life, representing banquets, dances, contests and in one instance a death scene. The historic value of these paintings is great, representing as they do incidents of the daily life of a bygone people, but we find no direct connection between them and Roman paintings, which seems to have descended directly from the Greeks.

In the minor arts of metal work and gem engraving the Etruscans more nearly rivaled the Greeks. They were fully equal to the Greek artisans in technical skill but their lack of taste and the repulsive conception of their gloomy religion largely spoiled the effect of good workmanship.

It is not alone the beginning of Roman artistic achievements that we can trace to the Etruscans. The influence of their religious rites, their skill in building and engineering and other developments of their four centuries of civilization, were all felt in the growth of the younger nation. Etruria furnished the ground work of Italian austerity which was the basis of Roman production. While Rome was a kingdom and during the early years of its existence as a republic, her art and culture were essentially Etruscan.

The single most distinguishing characteristic of Roman material civilization was the use of the arch, which gave them mastery in large architectural construction and bridge building, and the arch and vault were developments from Etruscan architecture. The Romans owed their realistic tendencies in sculpture, especially in portraiture, to the Etruscans and derived from them also many of their processes in the minor arts. Roman culture was not at this time complex and military services carried with it certain privileges and exemptions.

While we have given no credence to the traditions connected with the foundation of the city of Rome, yet the legends, such as that of Castor and Pollux, the Rape of the Sabines, and the Defense of the Bridge by Horatius, give us an insight into conditions in those early days. All such

tales, embellished with miraculous incidents, the Romans proudly related and though like other legends they may have little value as evidence of what really took place, their significance should not be ignored. They show us that the Romans' chief pride was in their political institutions, that they honored the virtues of courage and patriotism and believed their destiny was in the hands of the gods. In war, in political life, in literature and in art these tales continued to be an inspiration, and without the legends there is much in Roman history that we would be at a loss to explain.

A glance at the geographical situation of Rome will aid us in determining the origin of the city. Rome was situated on the southeast bank of the Tiber about eighteen miles from the sea. The city grew up at the point of contact of three different peoples. The locality contained a group of hills which could be occupied and defended against the attack of enemies. The Quirinal, the Viminal and Esquiline were to the northeast, to the south were the Palatine, the Cælian and the Aventine, while between these two groups rose the small and rugged elevation of the Capitoline. The Quirinal and the Palatine were best fitted for defense and hence for occupation by early settlers. The Palatine occupies the most commanding position and its settlers became the controlling people of the seven-hilled city. The Latins there

gained a foothold, probably being sent there to protect the Latin frontier and to trade with neighboring tribes. The people were called Rammes, they lived in rude straw huts, but built for protection a solid stone wall about a place called Roma Quadrata or Square Rome. In recent years this primitive wall of the Palatine city has been uncovered and is known as the wall of Romulus.

Opposite the Palatine settlement there grew up on the Quirinal hill a colony of the Sabine people. The two hill towns were rivals for the possession of the land near the Tiber, but neither could conquer the other, and in time an alliance was formed and to celebrate this union the intervening space was dedicated to the two-faced god Janus, who watched the approaches of both towns and for whom, says the legend, a temple was built. The Capitoline hill was chosen as a common citadel. The space between the two towns was used as a market place or forum for meetings of the people. This union of the Palatine and Quirinal towns into one community with a common religion and government was the first step in the process of incorporation which in time made Rome the most powerful city of Italy and then of the entire world.

Then followed the introduction of a third people who settled on the Cælian hill. They soon became incorporated as part of the city com-

munity and the city of the early Roman kings was thus made up of three divisions or "tribes," from the Latin word *tribus*, a third part.

Toward the close of the reigns of the later kings Rome had become a strong city and was growing into something akin to a real nation with a national policy. By pursuing the policy of expansion and incorporation and by establishing the two classes of society, the Patricians and the Plebeians, Rome had grown into a fairly well organized city state with considerable territory about the lower part of the river Tiber and with control over outlying communities.

We know nothing accurate of the details of the change which brought about the expulsion of the last of the kings. The fear of tyranny evidently united the Patricians and Plebeians and two consuls who were selected from the Patricians were given office for a year and exercised regal power under supervision of the senate. Roman dominance was due to the growth of a sense of nationalism in an industrial democracy. There was a long period of struggle between the Patricians and Plebeians which resulted in political equality, equal laws, a written code, the forming of tribunes of the people and the final political equalization of the two orders. This was another great step forward in world progress which was to give the Romans the best organized government of the ancient world.

The conditions outside the city were still those of a landholding aristocracy. There was little trade, few precious metals, and food and clothing came from the farms. The friction between rich and poor continued and slavery for nonpayment of debt brought about much bitterness. As the middle classes of society grew in numbers in the city, where they had a place as shopkeepers and artisans, the authority of the Patrician class became more circumscribed and the state became more democratic and in 367 B. C. there was a Plebeian as one of the two consuls. Long wars destroyed the old aristocracy who were the leaders in battle. Its numbers were reduced, its power gone and a society which had been agricultural and aristocratic became commercial and democratic with a steady increase in public and private wealth and a great change in life and manners.

Those who had traveled introduced new ideas and customs and the city entered into its long association with luxury and ostentation. This complex life and movement was based on slavery. The Romans were a primitive people. They would endure hardships as soldiers but they would not work continuously at the variety of tasks necessary in the complicated life of a city, so there came a great demand for slaves which was supplied by the conquering armies. This influx of free labor, greatly stimulated production and there soon de-

veloped a class of rich merchants who vied with the old families and outshone them in every material way. There was much merchandise but scarcity and uncertainty of food distribution with consequent discontent and unrest. Up to 300 B. C. neither the private houses nor public buildings of Rome were of any consequence and the courtiers of Philip of Macedon scoffed at the narrow, crooked streets, wooden buildings and general ugliness of Italy's capital. The probability is that the first marble temples of Rome were largely built from blocks and columns taken from conquered cities. The improvement was steady. The original village outgrew its successive walls. Temples and palaces were raised to house the spoils of war and give fitting surroundings to returned conquerors. The first simple Roman temples were in form adaptations of Greek ideas. The introduction and constant use of the vault by the Romans is the great distinction of their architecture. The invention of the vault is the subject of great divergence of opinion, but there is no question of its importance in all sorts of Roman construction. Throughout the length and breadth of the Roman world are found remains of the barrel vault in the ruins of walls, temples, palaces, baths, sewers and theaters.

The entire Italian Peninsula was finally under Roman rule and then they turned to for-

eign conquest. First to Carthage, originally a colony of Tyre and the capital of a commercial empire of the northern coast of Africa saturated with the civilization of the Phœnicians. Carthage, fat and prosperous, with her wealth and mercantile marine, was, in spite of her brilliant leaders, no match for Rome with her better organization, more efficient army and steadfast body of citizens. Rome became the recognized mistress of the western Mediterranean with Carthage a dependent state.

Later Rome quarreled with Macedonia and the way was paved for conquest in the East. Macedonia was humbled and Greece given her independence and there was no power in Europe which dared dispute Roman supremacy. As always, the Greeks quarreled among themselves; the Spartans appealed to Rome whose commissioners were grossly insulted by the warring factions, and then it was that Corinth was destroyed and its art treasures sent to Rome. Though the commander of the Roman army is described by Greek writers as an uncouth savage, he recognized the worth of the Greek statues and paintings and it is said threatened his sailors with most horrible punishment if they destroyed or injured anything during its transportation to Rome.

The little kingdom of Pergamon in Asia Minor, one of Alexander's colonies, where we noted the rise of a school of sculpture, came under

Roman rule some time after Rome had invaded Syria. The smaller states of Asia Minor and of Egypt became dependencies and the world authority of Rome was firmly established. Roman conquests consisted not alone in subduing lands, for not only the lands but the ideas of the conquered peoples were appropriated. Individuals educated in all departments of learning were made slaves and attached to the households of Roman rulers, and while the half-barbaric warriors were plundering foreign palaces and temples they were gaining for Rome new ideas in religion, art and knowledge.

The Empire

THE Romans were essentially a practical people. They were confronted with the problem of constructing a great city and architecture naturally received more attention from them than the other arts. Throughout their buildings there is so much that is grand and impressive, not alone because the buildings are so well adapted to their needs, but because the masses and lines are so well distributed that they please the eye. A people who crave beauty quite as much as serviceability in their buildings cannot be called inartistic even though they showed little originality in the other arts.

The life of the Romans was swayed by a multitude of constructive emotions. They were warriors, rulers, empire builders. They were a people whose imaginative power was directed toward the creation of monuments and institutions that would tend to the glorification of Rome as an all powerful empire and of the Romans as the acknowledged sovereigns of the world. They were strong in will and not lacking in skill, but they

were not privileged to feel the force of great and noble ideas outside of these.

They were not dreamers but doers, and sculpture to appeal to them had to serve an ulterior end, that of glorification. The Romans undoubtedly held in contempt the man who spent his years in putting some fancy, some ideal, some vision into marble, but there were among them a few who were able to appreciate Greek statues and who procured either originals or copies, though when they desired original works they chose the subject and forbade the expression of individual ideas. All was for Rome, an expression of Rome.

The glorification of the emperor in reliefs and statues kept sculptors, probably Greek slaves, busy. Such monuments were erected not only in Rome but throughout the extensive empire. Statues cannot well record historical events or series of events and so it was quite natural for the Romans to give greater attention to bas-reliefs which were designed to tell graphically, important stories in Roman history. They were in many cases but picture writing after the manner of the Oriental reliefs, intended to illustrate accounts that had been told and retold until every detail was known. We can readily see how the artist was limited. Certain scenes were demanded, whether they lent themselves, to artistic treatment or not.

These limitations must be borne in mind in viewing Roman reliefs. There are other qualities which proved them the work of skilled and thoughtful sculptors, for the arrangement of single figures and of masses is often remarkably fine and the events are clearly and vigorously told.

The Romans were original in portraiture and this class of work was by far the most important in Roman sculpture. The features of the Romans were very pronounced and artists were fortunate in their subjects, for what other country has ever boasted such a host of masterful men, each one prominent because of his own individuality? The Romans were at all times men of passion; some ruled by the highest virtues, others by vice, and in many portrait busts we see a perplexing mixture of both. The meditative, the introspective, the fantastic, the spiritual aspirations and expressions we saw in Greek statues are not found in the Roman portraits. They lack all the noble blending of the Greek type. Because Roman features were strong and pronounced the artists must have been tempted to exaggerate, but they seldom yielded, and kept the work true to life so that they not only perpetuated the outward appearance, but also suggested the character of the man whose bust they carved.

Generally speaking, Greek sculpture either aimed at mythological and historic conceptions or

at idealizing the actual. Roman art we shall find is realistic, for life was very real to the Roman. Greek sculpture is mainly in the round and Roman, aside from portrait busts, largely in relief, for the reason already given. Greek sculpture as a whole was art in the service of religion; Roman sculpture was art in the service of self glorification and consequently lacked idealism and spiritual inspiration.

The early Romans were a nation of warriors and it is difficult to reconcile the ideas of the brutalities of war with the finer arts of living, but as they obtained wealth and leisure they affected the refinement of their more cultured neighbors. There were among the Romans men who looked with favor upon the introduction of Greek ideas, Greek art and Greek manners, but in the midst of their professed refinement the barbarous spirit still showed itself, especially in their amusements.

They were a great people who appropriated, adapted and preserved some of the best elements of the ancient world. They showed a genius for political organization superior to that of any other ancient nation and developed a progressive system of law based upon broader ideas of justice, but personal ambition, selfishness and avarice developed to such an extent that the Romans failed to acquire the genuine taste and generous spirit which belongs to the highest type of human culture.

Roman history as ordinarily written is a seemingly endless account of wars and conquests, wars of ambition and wars of defense, civil wars and foreign wars. Those in authority at Rome came to fear the power of the armies and there are instances where foreign campaigns were undertaken solely to keep the armies occupied. Roman generals at the head of their armies frequently questioned the rule of the senate and sometimes ignored its decrees, and finally Julius Cæsar, having overcome all active opposition, was declared emperor by the senate, which became again only an advisory council, as it had been in the time of the kings. He took to himself the right to appoint senators. This led to his assassination by senators opposed to him, but Rome needed a great leader and his grand-nephew whom he had adopted, Octavianus, surnamed Augustus—The Illustrious—disposing of his rivals became emperor and the Roman Empire began.

Under Augustus the architecture of the city received a tremendous impulse and Rome indeed became imperial. Peace gave a sense of security. There was a great inrush of capital so that interest dropped from 12 per cent in 29 B. C. to 4 per cent during the later years of his reign. Streets were straightened and widened, public squares enlarged, the use of beautiful marbles from the quarries of Carrara introduced. The example

of Augustus was followed by all to the extent of their ability.

A new city arose, the houses by ordinance were fireproof up to a certain height. City lots were costly and ancient writers unite in emphasizing the height of the buildings, although this was unquestionably comparative, and were we by some miracle taken back to Imperial Rôme we would not be so much impressed by this. There were no windows on the ground floor and no uniformity regarding fronts and even in many of the finest buildings there were small shops and drinking booths.

Even the main streets were irregularly paved, dirty and crowded and had with but few exceptions no separate space for pedestrians. There were instances of stepping stones leading across the street or from one shop to another.

Each emperor was largely a law unto himself and had his own ideas for beautifying his city, so that while the general plan remained, there were endless changes and alterations and so a constant transition from one unconnected scheme to another. This personal ambition of the emperors resulted in numberless public buildings, gardens and monuments which to-day give to Rome an unrivalled historical, artistic and human interest. It is estimated that there were ten thousand public statues, walls and arcades were decorated in color,

the whole providing endless variety and interest for the eye.

One of the greatest distinctions of the ancient city was her water works, without which the closely crowded population could not have existed. Aqueducts bridged valleys, tunnels penetrated the hills, bringing water from three hundred miles away, so that a vast volume of fresh, pure water was brought into the community, which was drained by an elaborate system of covered sewers. Any man could secure an unlimited supply of running water in his home. Overcrowding and lack of care for the individual led to many severe epidemics in spite of all these advantages. The losses were increased by floods and frequent disastrous fires, although there were well organized police and fire departments which were copied in many of the larger cities of the provinces.

There were physicians and surgeons who had considerable knowledge and skill in the treatment of individuals but little in social hygiene, although there were public medical officers who, however, were unable to cope with the plagues, most of which came from the East. The writings on medicine display a considerable degree of accurate knowledge but there was no provision for examinations or licenses and the profession was overrun with fakers and quacks. There were specialists, and not only were surgeons attached to

military organizations, but dentists and oculists as well, and surgical instruments like many of the present day are still in existence. There was a considerable knowledge of drugs, including poisons and their antidotes, and much was written regarding the compounding and preparation of medicine.

The court, hedged about by a strict etiquette, was the center of the life of the city which struggled to follow the example set by the courtiers. The emperors and their immediate personal followers became more and more free from the various restrictions set about the rest of society which was divided into three grand divisions; the senators, the knights and the third estate.

The Empire was constitutional and the senate was theoretically supreme even over the emperors. It had by law the power to appoint and remove the emperor, but this power eventually came to be but a form. It was a hereditary body which was renewed by granting senatorial rank to notable men, so that young men of promise even in the third estate might look forward to elevating themselves and their descendants to this equivalent of the peerage.

The older families, proud of their long descent, were particularly reverenced, but as in modern times, great wealth was regarded as a necessary complement of high position, and the old families who lost their fortunes eventually lost their influ-

ence as well. The increasing power of the emperors steadily limited that of the senators until they ultimately became a luxurious and powerless adjunct of the Imperial court. The one distinction of a senator in the later days of the Empire was that the position presupposed Roman citizenship.

The knights, the general division next lower in political importance, was originally of military significance but came to be a civic rank. The position was not hereditary nor confined at the time of world empire to Roman citizens. To them was intrusted much of the administration of the state. *Præfets*, governors and judges were of knightly rank and the necessity for a great number of administrative officers of this sort created a corresponding necessity for the training and educating of young men for these positions.

The third estate made up the great bulk of the population, among whom were all the extremes of wealth and poverty we know to-day. The complex life of the city called for a division of labor equally complex and consequent general employment for those who wished work. There were unions of laborers and guilds of employers and artisans with dues and sick benefits, and strikes complicated the problems of capital and labor. All the arts and learned professions were practiced by members either of the third estate or by slaves, and though there was large possibility of gain, few did

more than earn a mere living. The teachers were particularly poorly paid but lawyers and advocates, though in a crowded profession, commanded great fees. Military service, because of the opportunities of adventure and advancement, attracted many young men. The regular soldiers drew pay and shared in all booty with their officers. They were free from certain forms of taxation, there was opportunity for promotion even for the rank and file and soldiers were given special privileges, so that in the provinces, and even in the city of Rome itself, they were arrogant and overbearing in their attitude toward civilians.

Many slaves were brought into Rome from every conquered province and they became so numerous that at times uprisings of slaves were feared. They at one time formed more than a third of the city's population and the immorality and laxity accompanying slavery colored all Roman life. Many slaves were freed annually and these freedmen and their descendants formed a very important part of the city's population. All forms of employment were open to them and many gained great wealth with proportionate influence. The numberless sidelights on social conditions in Imperial Rome are startlingly like extracts from a daily paper of any great present day city.

The most pertinent comment on the position of women in Roman society is that very little

was written about them and that little of the women of the upper classes. Memoirs, essays and poems tell of all phases of the complex life in many fragmentary details but in this large literature, women were taken for granted and almost entirely ignored. The rate of infant mortality was high and girls were not looked upon with the same favor as boys. The teaching of girls was considered of little importance and given little thought. Women were mentioned by the poets more for their extravagance and love of luxury than for any other qualities, though Pliny the Younger gives this charming picture of the daughter of a consul: "She was not in all fourteen years old, and had the sagacity and dignity of a woman, with maidenly charm and virginal purity. She used to cling to her father's neck; lovingly and simply embrace his friends; love her nurses, pedagogues and teachers, each after his right. She was zealous and intelligent in her studies." Daughters were married early, between the ages of thirteen and sixteen. The marriages generally were of family arrangement, based on social position and financial condition, the betrothal frequently taking place in childhood.

The weddings were times of feasting and the one occasion on which the women assumed a prominent position in the household, for they had charge of the bride. There were gifts, games,

music and a procession with torches, even in daylight, from the bride's to the bridegroom's home, and if possible a banquet at both. The expense and excesses became so great that there were occasional efforts to limit them by Imperial decree. The rights of women in inherited property were closely guarded and their rank and standing clearly defined and those of senatorial rank had certain recognized rights including membership in a guild or assembly of matrons of which little is known. These women lived an exposed and public life surrounded by slaves and flatterers. Divorce was common and easily obtained. Cæsar and Antony each had four wives, Sulla and Pompey each five, yet these were the times when upper class matrons were most free from restrictions, free not only to go about as they pleased but to take up the study of science and philosophy and to keep in constant touch with public life.

An old writer characterizes the Romans as builders of arches and makers of roads, and one modern authority states positively that the great roads built for military purposes by the Romans were better than those of to-day. Not only the ancient world but Europe of to-day owes much of her civilization to the facility of intercourse, the easy exchange of ideas and commodities, made possible by those roads. Wherever the all-conquering legions went, Roman roads followed them, and

the present day main lines of travel in Europe follow those same paths. The outposts established and the roads built, there was at once both the necessity and means of constant communication. Regular official post routes were organized with post-houses at proper intervals under state supervision, and every corner of the Empire put into constant communication with the capital. Regular routes were also established by the sea, harbors provided and beacons maintained on prominent points.

Soldiers were moved from one post to another, generals and colonial officials journeyed about the Empire from necessity, traders for gain, and men of wealth for the educational benefits, so that movement in the Empire was ceaseless and the interchange of commodities very great.

No interpretation of Imperial Rome could be complete which did not include a reference to the spectacles. Based like the Greek festivals upon religious celebrations, they came to be the easiest means of purchasing popular favor. The old tests of endurance and skill gave place to or were combined with cruelty so that men and animals fought life and death struggles singly and in companies. There were even women gladiators, and in all Roman literature there is scarcely a note of protest or horror at all this depravity. There was no thought of the rights of the individual man, no

understanding of the sanctity of human life, no conception of the degenerating effects of cruelty, and wherever the Roman civilization spread the arena went with it.

The great population of slaves and corrupt poor came to require two things of their rulers, bread and the games. These provided, they gave no thought nor care to social conditions and remained a smouldering volcano, but deprived of free food and free entertainment they became restive and dangerous. The games thus gave the emperors an opportunity to appeal to the masses so that the circus became a place of political demonstration. Gorgeous pageants and entertainments grew to be a tradition which each emperor must outdo. Many proverbs show how the games pervaded popular thought. At the height of the extravagance and cruelty, senators and knights took part in the contests and professional drivers and gladiators came to have absurd influence and power. The Coliseum seated eighty thousand people, the Circus Maximus two hundred and thirty thousand.

The theater did not command the attention which was given to the circus. The productions degenerated into outrageous and obscene farces and the comparatively few tragedies and legitimate comedies were weak imitations of the Greek and the majority of serious actors Greeks.

Dramatic dance developed into a separate art and there are records of many popular productions equivalent to the modern ballet or pantomime. Actors and dancers were held in low esteem and young men were warned against associating with them.

Athletics were adopted from Greece with few changes and Greek athletes engaged to train young men of wealthy families but there was no such general public attitude toward physical training as in Greece. It was not regarded as a necessary part of the preparation for life of every citizen. The Greeks were trained from childhood to become soldiers. A large proportion of the soldiers of Imperial Rome were levied mercenaries and athletic training was not looked upon as a public necessity for every citizen but was considered either a fad or a means of livelihood.

Rome was the world capital and any statement of the general condition of trade and life which would apply to London, Paris or New York would apply to her. She was the center of an empire which controlled the world of that day and as such she attracted to her the best and the worst of that world. To her came all the news, all the luxury, all the learning and all the art. She was the center of life and style and anything which was accepted by her became the proper thing, to be copied or imitated by the leaders in all the prov-

inces. There cannot be two opinions regarding the immorality and evil influence of the gladiatorial shows but all the public festivals were given to the whole people and the great buildings in which they took place belonged to all alike. This betokens a sense of responsibility to the masses, even if seasoned with fear, which the world had not previously known.

We have told of some of the extremes of the city life, gathered from the writings of the time, but it must be borne in mind that historians and writers have ever yielded to the temptation to record extremes. Unquestionably luxury and extravagance was not so great nor universal as might seem from the ancient writers. There was a high degree of cleanliness, a love of the open air and country, and much is said in praise of economy. The very fact that writers pointed out the excesses and frequently satirized them shows that they must have been held in general contempt. Even under the worst of the emperors just governors and administrators were the rule and only the rich aped the excesses of the court. The mass of the people lived and loved, labored and died unrecorded except for many epitaphs which are strikingly like those of to-day in their expressions of esteem and respect. These surely would not have been had the great middle class population been vitiated and depraved.

The task of education in ancient Rome was simple. The aim was not the gain of self-mastery and general knowledge as with us, but was specific. Most young men were prepared for their work by a system of apprenticeships. The sons of wealthy families were trained to become leaders to an extent we do not now appreciate and two essentials were recognized as absolutely necessary for that leadership. They must be prepared to command soldiers and to lead men and for the latter they were especially trained in rhetoric and oratory. When a harangue to a mob or an address to the senate might in a few moments settle the fate of a leader, a command of words, particularly spoken words, was recognized as a means of power. Successful rhetoricians and professors of oratory were much sought after. The students were familiarized with Greek and Latin poetry as well as prose. Dialogues, debates and mock trials were held and every opportunity given for practice in public speaking.

This emphasizing of the study of language had an effect, secondary in its time, of prime importance to us to-day. It developed a great literature of memoirs and poetical writings which are not only valuable to us for the information given but have been of great influence on the form and language of present day literature. Latin was for centuries the common means of communication of

educated men, and modern Italian, Spanish, French and English are all so deeply indebted to Latin that it is impossible to conceive of our present day literature as separated from it.

Early Roman decrees and promulgations were carved upon stone monuments as in Egypt and Assyria. Tablets of metal were used for the same purpose and commissions and passports were engraved upon pieces of brass small enough to be carried about by individuals in their travels. Pugillares or table books of wood were much in use. The wood was cut into thin slabs, finely planed and polished and written upon with an iron instrument called a stylus. At a later period tablets of thin slices of wood were usually covered with a layer of hard wax so that anything written upon them might be erased at pleasure and the tablets used again.

The Greeks and Romans both made use of the papyrus of the Egyptians from which a thick sort of paper was produced which was largely imported to Rome. This was in much more common use than either parchment or vellum. The manufacture of paper from rags and fiber was known at a very early date in many countries and such paper was used in both Greece and Rome, but it was not so easily made as the papyrus paper nor so generally used. Every man of rank and wealth kept slaves who were trained to take dictation and

transcribe from other writings. The earlier Roman manuscripts were kept in rolls called "volumina," from which comes our English word volume.

Emperors and men of great wealth formed private libraries and collections of art works, giving preference to age and rarity and ignoring the products of their own time. Forgeries and imitations were as a consequence common, for a good artisan, who if encouraged might have developed into an artist of originality, could command greater compensation for an imitation of some old-time master than he could expect to receive for any expression of his own ideas. Decoration and metal work elaborated and enriched the designs of Greece with a proportionate loss of simplicity. Originality found an opportunity only in portrait-ure and historical monuments.

Antiquity, rarity and expensive material, being obvious qualities, were paramount, and even precious stones commanded a greater price if they had been owned and worn by some notable. Then as now a jargon developed which was used by those who considered themselves art experts but which meant nothing to the ordinary man.

The formation of these great collections, the buying and selling of them, the writing and talk about them, betoken a love of luxury and splendor rather than the spread of any real artistic feeling or love of the beautiful among the masses

of the population. Roman literature proves this and is in this respect utterly unlike the Greek in which there is constant reference to standards of beauty and discussion of their application; for example, the Greek works on geography took notice, in accounts of places of interest, of the art and artists of the place. Here again the word practical must be used to describe the Romans. Their literature interested itself in action, in individuals and facts; references to works of art or art subjects are dry, meager and superficial.

Like any people who have made even a slight advance in civilization, the Romans unquestionably had their own songs and music, but it must have given place at an early date to the more highly developed music of Greece for it left no memory or direct record of itself. That there was an effort made to prevent innovations is proven by the passage of a law in 115 B. C. to prohibit the use of all musical instruments except the short Roman flute. There were conservatives in music even in those days.

Music was then an art almost entirely dependent upon poetry, which was recited to a musical accompaniment. A poet was described as one who "combines the eloquence of words with the harmonies of music." Their tragedy and comedy resembled our opera in that music was considered essential to a correct performance. There were

recitations, choral scenes and musical interludes. Lyric poetry was set to music and sung, the words meaning a song written for the lyre. Horace describes his odes as "words to be associated with the strings of the lyre." There is no reason for assuming that they were intended to be delivered in any other way. There is repeated testimony to this constant use of music as the handmaiden of poetry. Even Virgil's Epics were recited on the stage by singers and the words "to sing" and "to declaim" were used interchangeably. Ovid, the poet, was cheered in exile by the news that his poems were often applauded when "danced" upon the stage.

The Greek system of two octaves was used, as it was regarded as the range of the human voice. Choral singing only differed from the solo in that the volume was increased by the number of voices and enriched by the combination of male and female voices an octave apart. The melody was sung in unison, as part singing was not introduced until the Middle Ages.

The types of musical instruments were limited to two, the cythra and the flute. There were modifications of both, all of which would seem most primitive to our educated ears. Ancient writers nevertheless credit these instruments with being able to create marked emotional effects.

The story of music in Rome parallels that of the social life and of the other arts. Great

choruses and orchestras were formed. Slaves were instructed in vocal and instrumental music and exceptional performers were showered with attentions and honors. Heads were turned and hysterical individuals and audiences committed the same absurdities that they do to-day.

WE must consider Roman sculpture under two classes, copies and originals. The copies were for the most part the work of Greek artists and were made for rich Roman patrons whose taste for Greek art had been developed by the bringing into Italy of the plunder already mentioned. We could hardly expect to find under such circumstances the finest examples of Greek art. The imitators aimed at reproducing the style of a particular school or period rather than creating an individual work. A better class of imitative sculpture was not confined to one period or school but selected what it liked from each school, combining and adapting the borrowed ideas into a new and often admirable result.

It was at about this time, that is, the First century B. C., that modeling in clay was introduced in Rome. We have no evidence that previous to that time a clay model was made by the artist before he attacked the marble. This innovation is credited to Pasiteles, a Greek who worked in Rome.

In 13 B. C. the Arapacis Augustæ or altar erected by Augustus to imperial peace was set up in honor of the emperor's victories in Spain and Gaul. It is now regarded as the greatest achievement of decorative art of the Augustan age. The decoration is not strictly of a historical character but shows a tendency toward the idealizing of events such as we shall not find in the monuments of later emperors. It introduces portraiture, that is contemporary individuals can be recognized, but they are placed not in actual but idealized settings. We at once think of the sculptures of the Parthenon and look for some parallelism, which does to some extent exist. The gayety of the Parthenon frieze had no place in reliefs portraying the dignified family of Augustus, but in both there is a contrast between the calm and dignity of the great personages in the central scenes and the group of attendants bringing the beasts up for sacrifice. The artists were successful in combining a large number of personages into one procession without sacrificing the individuality of the figures.

There are defects in the Roman work which a little attention and comparison reveal. There is not the same sense of wholeness that we saw in the Parthenon friezes; again there are defects in drawing, some of the hands for instance are out of proportion. Every figure has its legs posed and carved without reference to those of its

neighbor, with the result of a confusion of legs when you study the work as a whole; this disposition of the feet seems to have been one of the most difficult problems for the old sculptors.

The decorative element in this work is worthy of note. The beauty of the floral patterns stands unrivalled; the base below the outer frieze is filled with decorative scrolls of acanthus and the entrance and side walls by an elaborate system of spirals, all conventional at first glance but on close examination remarkably true to nature and skillfully varied in treatment. We see swans and other birds, insects and reptiles interspersed among the spirals and scrolls and find that accurate observation of the forms of nature combines with delicate treatment and that throughout truly artistic taste is shown in the choice and combination of appropriate designs. There is about it all an intellectual quality, a formal elegance that wins our admiration, but it lacks warmth and feeling. It is too plainly the studied plan and skillful execution of the man of intellect; not a work of inspiration, as we say when viewing the work of the Greeks.

Throughout the Augustan age we see a reaction against the school of Pergamon and Rhodes which you will recall exaggerated the element of pathos; there is now a return to the dignity and calm of the Fifth and Fourth centuries B. C. The portraits of the time, notably the head

of the youthful Octavius now in the Vatican, show this change. Portraiture was brought to maturity during the Augustan age; in the direction of realism, as in portraiture, the Romans were not only original but in all times attained their highest level.

Greek portraits have little individuality as they are always attempts at a realization of a type or ideal. We repeat, it is the typical and universal that distinguishes Greek from Roman art. When the Etruscans attempted to follow Greek models they failed, but when they followed nature they paved the way for the subsequent success of Roman portraiture. In the portraits of the emperors and high officials we do find a tendency to idealize, probably a touch of Greek imagination, and the busts of illustrious men were also made in such large numbers for distribution throughout the Roman Empire that we do not always find the most characteristic or successful achievements in the portraits of the most notable personages. Busts of lesser men, many of which have never been identified, have often greater artistic value and show with an almost merciless realism the Roman gentlemen of the Augustan or Flavian period.

Recent researches have shown how the date of Roman portraits may be approximately recognized by the form of the bust. During the Greek period they were merely heads on conventional pedestals or urns, under the early emperors

the breast was modeled, in the Flavian period the breast and shoulders, busts of Trajan's reign indicate the beginning of arms, those of Hadrian's the lower part of the breast as well, and in the Third century A. D. the figure was often completed as far as the waist.

The well known head of Julius Cæsar in the British Museum shows us "the man as he lived, his features, his expression, rendered with the most unsparing realism, no detail softened if it could add to the individuality of the portrait, and it shows in its lean and expressive features the wear and waste due to a restless, fiery genius." In Cæsar, the sculptor has portrayed the conqueror who owed his success to his own consummate genius. It is the man himself the sculptor brings before us. This bust is typical of Roman portraiture and shows clearly the passion for realism, and even if grave doubts have arisen as to its authenticity it is valuable as a character study and as an example of the purely Roman portrait bust. In the Vatican is the head of the young Augustus which shows the Greek style of modeling and more of the Greek spirit combined with Roman accuracy and precision in rendering nature.

One of the finest of these portrait statues, also in the Vatican, is that of Augustus in armor. He stands with his right arm raised in the attitude of official speech. The reliefs on the breast plate

are an imitation of metal work, the whole decoration of symbolical significance, intended as a glorification of the emperor and his achievements in securing peace for the Empire. In the face we see nothing of the story this decoration tells. The artist produced a lifelike statue and we see the distinguished features of the emperor, the fullness of the face partially wasted by approaching age.

There is in the British Museum an excellent bust of the Emperor Titus in which we see the lack of all idealization which is so characteristic of the pitiless Roman realism. Some of the portraits of private personages of still later origin resemble a modern photograph which reproduces the expression of a passing moment.

A fine bust of Hadrian clad in armor and military cloak was found in his villa at Tivoli. He is the first Roman whose bust was distinguished by a beard and his adoption of the fashion implies his Hellenic sympathy. With him the Roman type of features begin to disappear; he seems to be of no race or country. His face expresses ability rather than genius, taste rather than intellect, and is that of an administrator rather than that of a warrior.

Technical mastery increased from this time on and the sculptor seems to have devoted his skill to the working out of new problems, one of these being the indication of the difference in the texture of the hair and skin, and to this diffi-

culty he gave so much attention that he sacrificed much in the way of real life and character. There are, however, some fine examples of portrait work of the latter part of the Second century, one of which is the bust of Marcus Aurelius in the British Museum. It was at that time that the drill was used for making the curls of the hair, and the pupil of the eye was so carved as to give a more life-like character to the bust.

There is a collection of busts of the late Third century in the Capitoline Museum, among them one of the Emperor Decius which has won the admiration of many a critic. It is a powerful example of realism. There are also some good female portraits, those of the empresses being remarkable for their headdresses. The famous so-called Clytie in the British Museum is surely a portrait, doubtless of a lady of Augustan Age. The combination of the bust and flower probably had no significance but was purely decorative. A former owner gave the bust the name of Clytie, after the nymph whose love for the Sun-god transformed her into a flower. The bust has been identified by some as a portrait of Antonia, the daughter of Marc Antony.

The emperor who succeeded Augustus did much to encourage the new Roman school of sculpture. He boasted that he found Rome of brick and left it of marble. He restored many of the

temples and other buildings which had fallen into decay or been destroyed during fire, riots or civil strife. On the Palatine Hill he began the construction of the great imperial palace which became the home of the Cæsars. He built a new temple to Vesta where the sacred fire was kept burning. He erected a new temple to Apollo to which was attached a library of Greek and Roman authors. He was also responsible for the temples to Jupiter, the divine Julius, the new Forum of Augustus near the old Roman Forum and also the Forum of Julius, in which was erected the temple of Mars the Avenger, to commemorate the war by which Augustus had avenged the death of Cæsar. The best preserved of all the Augustan monuments is the Pantheon, the Temple of all the Gods, built in 27 B. C. but altered by Hadrian in the Second century.

Under the rule of the Julian and Flavian emperors sculpture was largely employed as an accessory to architecture in the magnificent buildings everywhere erected. There was a great impulse given to art under the Flavians, a change due to the rise of native Roman artists, who broke away from the classical art of the Augustan age which was the result of Greek artists and Hellenistic tendencies. This produced a new national art distinguished by its realism and vigor as we have noted in portraiture. Under the Flavian emperors the artists seemed to aim at an imitative naturalism

such as we noted in Greek painting of one period, when the object was to give an impression of real persons or objects.

The historical monument was introduced at the time of Flavian but was characteristically developed under Trajan. It originated in the universal desire of the ancients to commemorate events in tombs, on rocks or on tablets. With the natural instinct of descriptive narrative which was so much a part of the Roman life there came about the invention of monuments which were erected that they might be decorated with the records of events. These monuments, largely in the form of triumphal arches, interest us rather for their subjects than their artistic merit but are of importance in tracing the national trend of historic sculpture.

The triumphal arch of Titus erected in Rome in 70 A. D. is well preserved. It is remarkable for beauty of detail and for the fact that it commemorates the conquest of Jerusalem. On one side we see a procession of Romans carrying away the spoils of the Temple; the ark and the seven-branch golden candlestick figure in the representation. On the other side of the arch the emperor is seen in his triumphal car drawn by four horses and surrounded by Roman warriors.

These reliefs differ in one essential point from anything previously produced. An attempt

was made to introduce variety, by doing away with the former method of giving each figure a clearer outline on a flat surface and substituting for this method a graduated background. The figures in the foreground were almost entirely detached and those behind carved in lower relief. The purpose was evidently to produce an impression of continuous motion. The spectator was to view the whole as he would an actual procession marching past on a stage where the settings limited the space. It was an attempt to attain the impression of illusion; that kind of imitation of nature which we find highly developed in painting, but which lies beyond the pale of real sculpture, and these reliefs show us how beauty of line and symmetry of parts were both sacrificed in the effort to make the result appear real. The modeling of the figures is delicate and lifelike, the treatment of draperies and of details is excellent, but the groups are crowded and the perspective arrangement of different planes is confusing to the spectator.

The great Arch of Constantine was decorated with medallions representing hunting and sacrificial scenes in which the emperor had a part. Until recently the subjects of these sculptures were assigned to an earlier monument but now they are believed to be the products of the reign of Domitian, the hated emperor of whom history has had little good to relate. The identification of a num-

ber of other works of equal merit reveals him as a patron of art.

In the center of the Trajan Forum was a colossal statue of the Emperor Trajan upon a triumphal column over one hundred and seventeen feet high, covered with sculpture from the pedestal to the capital. It was erected to commemorate his victory over the Dacians. The statue of Trajan was replaced in the Seventh century by one of St. Peter. The pedestal upon which the column stands is covered with bas-reliefs of weapons, shields, coats of mail and standards. The pillar itself is enclosed in a spiral of bas-reliefs forming a continuous representation of the triumphs of the emperor, beginning with the famous Trajan Bridge over the Danube and going through all the events of the Dacian War. The scale increases from two to four feet as the sculptures go upward, so those at the top may be seen as easily and clearly as those below.

There are in all twenty-five hundred human figures and many horses arranged on about four hundred slabs. We see the Romans, led by Trajan, crossing the Danube by bridges of boats; we follow them to their camps where they hold a council of war and a ceremonial sacrifice. We then witness the preparations for battle, an encounter with the Dacians, and their defeat. Another campaign opens with a view of a Roman city on the

Danube, Trajan reconnoiters up the river, planning a night attack; a pitched battle follows, the Dacians are again defeated and many are taken prisoners. And so, on and on, through scene after scene, the Romans always the victors in all the encounters until they finally march upon a Dacian city, besiege the citadel and the Dacian chiefs are driven to take poison rather than yield themselves to their conquerors. The center of every group is given to the representation of the emperor and in following the twenty-three windings of the spiral we find his image just ninety times.

This method of story telling in which not only sequential actions are represented but the same person pictured as taking part in all, was a Roman invention but it is a primitive idea and in Oriental reliefs we saw it used continually. The Greeks, it is true, did not make use of it for they aimed rather at the complete expression of cause on effect. With them the figure of an individual was not repeated but others were introduced to express different actions and all were united in one space regardless of time. Theirs was a higher conception of true unity. Neither the Orientals nor the Romans had the sensitiveness of conception to overcome the difficulties of time and space. They must needs recount or illustrate each event in its own particular place and time in order to arrive at the real climax of the narrative. We shall find

this continuous narrative in early Christian art, used with the repetition of a central figure, as the Romans used it.

While from the point of view of real artistic conception we find in this method much to criticize, it is one that arouses the feeling and keeps up the interest of the spectator and we follow the spiral round and round from base to capital with quite the same eagerness that we look for the next chapter of a continued story. The scenes comprising every incident of warfare and triumphal celebration are invaluable to the historian. As a decorative element, they were remarkably well conceived and the spiral principle used in this way was a happy invention. There is wonderful variety in the treatment of the scenes and in the backgrounds of landscape or architecture, and this column of Trajan, called the design of one man and the work of many, stands as a typical Roman monument, causing us to marvel at the skill shown by those "inartistic Romans," no matter how much we may find in the sculptured narrative which is primitive or conflicts with the accepted principles of artistic unity.

We come upon a new phase in Roman art during the reign of Hadrian. Its principal aim was the reproduction of famous models of the Greek style, and to this period belong many of the copies and imitations of Greek statues. The attempt was

only partially successful, the imitations being cold, severe productions serving to emphasize the futility of attempting to revive a school after the spirit which inspired and animated it had vanished. There was, however, one fine statue of this time worthy of the name of an ideal work and it will always stand out as a great achievement. It is the statue of Antonius now in the Vatican. Antonius, a beautiful youth, was a favorite of Hadrian's and accompanied him in all his travels. While on a journey to Egypt he was drowned in the Nile, which was, so the tradition goes, an act of self-devotion to the Fates on behalf of his patron. Hadrian, to show his grief and gratitude, erected temples to Antonius in Greece and Egypt and set up his statues and busts in all parts of the empire. This cult of the deified youth served as an inspiration to sculptors who set about transforming a portrait into an idealized representation. The creation of a type was the most characteristic achievement of the period but it was not a type in the full Greek sense, for all of the busts show traces of marked individuality. There is in the Louvre a beautiful head of Antonius and the influence of the type is seen in all contemporary work, of which the bust of Bacchus in the British Museum is an example.

During Hadrian's reign sarcophagi with sculptured reliefs came into popularity. We trace

in these the Etruscan influence which, as we have already stated, may have been of Egyptian origin. Unlike the Greek sarcophagi, those of the Romans were intended to hold the remains of the deceased and were placed against the walls of the tombs, so we find them decorated on the front and ends only. A characteristic mode of decoration was an arrangement of columns along the front between which single figures or groups were placed. The subjects of the reliefs were mainly of a mythological nature but after a study of many of these sarcophagi it is difficult to find a reason for the choice of many of the scenes represented. The style of the continuous narrative is followed as on the arches and columns.

There is a nuptial scene on one in the Villa Albani at Rome. The figures are treated in the severely classic and somewhat conventional style of the New Attic School and so show the revival of classicism under Hadrian. We see on the front the bridal couple seated side by side receiving the wedding gifts from a procession of deities. Vulcan and Minerva head the line, followed by the Four Seasons with appropriate offerings, then come Vesper and Hymen and Cupid pushing aside Juno, the conductor of brides, whose services are now at an end. The Seasons are reproductions of figures seen on terra cotta reliefs and on pottery produced during the Augustan Age.

THE EMPIRE

The various stories of Achilles are pictured on several sarcophagi, one in Rome showing his sojourn with the daughters of Lycomedes in Skyros. Boys playing with animals are seen on others. The execution of these reliefs varies greatly; some attain a high level and others are crudely carved; as decorative work they are often admirable though they may not be classed among real masterpieces and their chief interest lies in the mythological or symbolic representation.

It was Hadrian who encouraged sculptured statues as Trajan had encouraged the commemorative reliefs, and all available spaces were filled with marble, terra-cotta and bronze statues and even the golden house of Nero was in this respect surpassed by the Villa of Hadrian at Tibur. There it delighted him to have reproduced all the wonderful works of architecture and sculpture which he had noted on his extended travels through the Roman world. He was an enthusiastic admirer of Greek art and directed the artistic industry of his time to the best possible reproductions of Hellenic art. A famous marble group now in the Vatican, thought to date from Hadrian's time, is the Colossal Nile in which the river is represented as an old man with flowing beard, surrounded by small symbolic figures. Among the works of this age belong the remains found at Herculaneum and Pompeii. The fine bronze statues

of Hermes, the Sleeping Fawn and the Dancing Girls, all in the museum of Naples, are considered the best.

The two emperors who followed Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, belonged to the family of the Antonines. The former's reign was devoid of remarkable incidents although important because of its purifying influence upon Roman politics and as marking the beginning of the golden age of Roman jurisprudence. Marcus Aurelius, who came to the throne in 161 A. D., a philosopher as well as an emperor, was in his personal character one of the most remarkable men of antiquity. His reign was a period of misfortune in spite of all his personal worth. Deadly plague and famine visited Rome; the barbarians from the north threatened to overrun the provinces; the Christians, whom he regarded as a turbulent sect and to whom the people ascribed their calamities, were persecuted by him. He met all his dangers and problems with courage and loyalty and died at his post of duty while resisting the enemies of the empire in the north.

The death of Marcus Aurelius was the culmination of the Empire and the close of the finest period of Roman history. The fall of the Republic was not an evil but a benefit and in place of the civil strife and discord of the last years of the Republic there were two centuries of peace, industry

and the growth of Roman culture. From the accession of Augustus to the death of Marcus Aurelius, 31 B. C. to 180 A. D., we read of only three emperors known as tyrants, Tiberius, Nero and Domitian, and recent discoveries prove that the latter was not wholly lacking in the finer traits of character.

The Roman world reached its highest stage of political development in the age of the Antonines, which Gibbon calls the happiest in the history of mankind. Following this period came that of the Military Despotism, which lasted until the accession of Diocletian in 248. During this stage there were few events of importance except those that illustrate the tyranny of the army and the general tendency toward decay and disintegration. Diocletian's whole policy was to give dignity and strength to the imperial authority and in doing this he assumed the diadem of the East and made himself practically an Oriental monarch; nevertheless he saw the impossibility of one man's managing the affairs of so vast an empire and so he divided the territory among several rulers, still retaining supreme authority to himself.

During the reign of Nero we find the first mention of Christians, by Roman historians. The new religion had appeared a half a century before in Judea and had made rapid progress in the Eastern provinces. There was at first no opposition to

the spread of Christianity as the Romans were generally tolerant of all religions. The great fire at Rome at the time of Nero was attributed to them and furnished the occasion for the first general persecution of Christians.

The persecutions continued until under Diocletian's rule churches were demolished and Christians dismissed from public office. Constantine, who succeeded Diocletian, is generally known as the first Christian emperor. He reversed the policy of the former sovereign and recognized Christianity as the state religion, an act no doubt inspired by political wisdom, as so large a part of the empire was already Christian that this recognition gave stability and support to the new government. The pagan worship was still tolerated and it was many years after this before it was proscribed by the Christian emperors.

The advent of Christianity with its totally different conceptions and ideals doomed Roman art as a national art, and though the sculpture of the Antonine period carried on the traditions of the previous time, it is on the whole represented by only a few monuments aside from the sarcophagi.

The masterpiece of the period is the column of Marcus Aurelius, clearly an imitation of Trajan's, and though larger it is not as impressive. There is the same striving after historical accuracy but the effort to include events of wide geograph-

ical distribution precluded any possibility of telling a clear and connected story. Forts, bridges, boats and city walls were worked into the realistic scene quite as on the column of Trajan and we see the emperor in various attitudes and in all the scenes of importance. Many of the reliefs picture the wars of the Romans with the German tribes of the North. One rather unique scene depicts the story of the rain miracle. Jupiter Pluvius is shaking his winged arms and pouring rain down upon the Romans, who have been suffering from a drought, but at the same time the Germans are being destroyed by the floods.

The famous bronze statue of Marcus Aurelius has been described as "magnificently decorative but dull and mediocre." Though in a somewhat stiff attitude the emperor is represented in true Roman style of portraiture. A barbarian is prone at his feet and Marcus Aurelius by the gesture of an outstretched hand shows that he is yielding to the supplication of the conquered. The horse, though probably a study from life, is not well executed, but in spite of the defects the group as a whole is dignified and effective and won the admiration of Michael Angelo, who is supposed to have designed the pedestal upon which it now stands.

These sculptures of the reign of Marcus Aurelius show an attempt at a brief revival of real

Roman art, but it was a tardy effort of no permanency. There was for a time an inclination to go back to the eastern stypes in statuary, for the Third century witnessed the rapid growth of a tendency which had for long been at work in the Roman religion, that of the assimilation of foreign beliefs and rights.

The influence of Egyptian religion is seen in the temples and sculptures erected to the Goddess Isis and the God Serapis. The introduction of this cult came early and was felt through several centuries, but during the Third century the mystic religions of central Asia Minor exercised even a stronger influence. We find in sculptures a form of sun worship that must have come from the Persian religion and we know that this belief in modified form spread through Germany and even to the shore of Britain and its influence under the Roman Empire was undoubtedly greater than we realize.

It was just this mingling of religions, with the consequent scepticism and unbelief, that paved the way for Christianity and at the same time robbed Roman creations of their dignity and simplicity. The assurance of the artist was not now so great, his trust in the old gods was shaken, he was confronted by a choice of religions. His belief in the power of Rome and the Romans was beginning to wane and with his characteristic Roman

passion for justice he leaned toward the religion that was founded upon the idea of the spiritual equality of mankind. There still remained those who were staunch and loyal to the belief in the power and rightful sovereignty of the Romans.

The most typical specimen the art of the time could produce appears in the Arch of Septimius Servius, erected in 203 to commemorate victories in Mesopotamia. This monument is not as well preserved as the others we have already studied but in its reliefs we can trace the stories of the victories, nor do we find any marked evidences of decadence. Later sculptures are realistic to an extreme and show an almost entire lack of imagination. The fine ornamentation of earlier periods is gone and the compositions are very crowded and not at all effective. The sarcophagi alone show any particular merit and critics are inclined to class the finest, which were found in Asia Minor, as purely Greek though produced under late Roman rule.

Roman painting even more than Roman sculpture appears for long dependent and imitative, hesitating at first between the influence of ancient Italy and of Greece, then in close subjection to Greece, but finally developed into a national style. Painting of the best Roman period is known to us in the numerous frescoes at Pompeii as well as by the stucco decorations on the walls

of houses, temples and tombs in Rome and the provinces. The earliest mention of monumental painting in Rome relates to the decoration of the temples of Ceres and Liber by the Greek artists of lower Italy, 493 B. C. They made use of only four colors, their work being little distinguished from the older Greek painting upon vases, the surfaces within the outlines being colored without graduation of light and shade. The processes employed were undoubtedly the same as those of the Greeks and Etruscans; that is, fresco, or painting upon plaster while still wet; tempera, where the pigment is mixed with glue, gum or the white of egg; and encaustic, where melted wax is used for the blending of the colors. Our present method of mixing color with oil and turpentine was then unknown.

The paintings in the Pompeian excavations were found in their original position and are our best source of information. Through them, both wall paintings and individual pictures, we can trace a gradual development from the Second century B. C. to the destruction of the city in 79 A. D. We find the influences of Egypt and the meeting of Greek and Etruscan influence, but as earlier stated, the Etruscan paintings were soon superseded by Greek, which was the real inspiration of Roman painting.

The greatest number of paintings found in Rome are of landscapes. Before the Third cen-

tury B. C. we know nothing of landscape painting in Greece, and when it did appear it served only as a background, simply as a means of supplying local color. It was not until the Hellenistic period that the Greeks considered outdoor nature a subject worthy the artist's attention.

The Greek artists had quite problem enough in trying to depict man, and as human intellect was in their conception the highest development of nature in the spiritual world, so they considered man as nature's highest physical development and made their gods in the image of man and through these gods endeavored to explain the phenomena of nature. The Romans with their practical, matter of fact observation, sculptured men as they saw them and pictured natural scenes with full detail. Their gods and goddesses sprang from the needs of an unpoetic, practical people and their attention in their early years as a pastoral people was directed to nature, to the earth and its products. They show an appreciation of their natural surroundings such as the Greeks never exhibited. The finest examples of Roman landscape painting are those known as the *Odyssey* landscapes, found in a house on the Esquiline hill and now in the Vatican library. They decorated the lower part of a room and were set between red pilasters for contrast with the blues, yellows, greens and browns of the picture. Six of these are complete, the other

two only partially preserved. They represent scenes from the wanderings of Ulysses. The figures are very small in proportion to the details of the landscapes and serve merely to complete the subject suggested by the scenery.

A remarkable painting now in the British Museum preserves the Icarian Myth and represents Dædalus flying, and Icarus falling into the sea. Dædalus is the personification of the highest development of Greek sculpture, the legendary master sculptor of Athens. Icarus, his son, in order to escape from Minos, the fabled law-giver and judge of Hades, attempted to fly from Crete by means of wings attached to his body with wax but he flew too near the sun, the wax melted and he fell headlong into the sea. The foreground of the picture is occupied by Pan and his goats, in the distance is a fortified city representing the dwelling place of Minos in Crete.

Another cherished possession of the British Museum is a painting representing Ulysses passing the Sirens. The picture is grim both in subject and in treatment but the coloring is remarkable. The water is dull blue, the ships are but dimly depicted as though seen sailing through a mist or fog. The rocks, lighted with patches of red and white, attract attention to the story they have to tell, for scattered over them are the bleaching bones of previous victims.

Another notable picture is the Aldobrandini Marriage in the Vatican. It pictures a bride preparing for the nuptial procession. She sits in the center closely veiled and lost in shy meditation, while the goddess Aphrodite, beside her, is evidently either persuading or encouraging her. Hymen, the god of Marriage, an impatient figure, is at the right. A maiden is tuning the cithara upon which the accompaniment to the wedding song is to be played, another prepares the bowl of incense, another with a garland upon her head is apparently to be the bridesmaid. The picture was discovered in 1600 and named after its first owner, Cardinal Aldobrandini. Although it is hardly older than the First century B. C., we see in it such an utter disregard for realism and such marked grace and poetic charm that it seems like a Fourth century Greek creation. It is surely as beautiful and as elegant as any classical painting that has been preserved.

The architectural style used for all decoration developed, during the First century B. C., in a space of seventy years. The principle is that of architectural design serving as a framework for the pictures and produces the same effect as that noted in the reliefs. There was usually a wide central panel between the two narrow ones. There were columns between the panels and ornamental borders above and below. The backgrounds were usually of a

single solid color, affording a pleasing contrast to the brilliant coloring of the picture itself. This style was at first quite simple; later came more ornate work, when the architectural parts were treated in a more conventional manner and were reduced to mere details and so subordinated to the other decoration that the paintings became a series of panels with borders. This was evidently done in order to give the impression of a great hall, its walls decorated with framed pictures.

There followed the style of most of the Pompeian pictures now extant. There is still in these a hint of the architectural form, but the artists gave free scope to their imagination and fancy. They seem to have borrowed from the Greeks their most graceful and spirited designs and combined them to form pleasing decoration. They developed intricate and fantastic patterns with vivid colors, but preserved symmetry and balance and the result was always harmonious.

Many of the mythological subjects were undoubtedly copies of famous originals, some probably reproductions of Greek painting of the Fourth century. Others can actually be traced through several copies to earlier originals and a number are evidently copied from the designs on Greek vases. The great number of copies indicates a considerable demand for reproductions of masterpieces.

Just as soon as a people are satisfied to copy and to imitate, we know that the vitality of any national art is on the wane. When there is nothing to inspire an artist to venture on new methods, when he has lost the power to conceive new subjects, or new treatment of old subjects, we know that we must turn to another people for creative genius, where ideas of life and standards of worth prompt in the genius, a desire to make objective their visions and hopes. This absence of original conception is indicative of the spiritless tendency of Roman art of the First century, but the paintings have proven of inestimable value to us in the absence of the original Greek masterpieces, and the pictures of everyday life, of evident local origin, are of value to the historians.

One of the famous mythological paintings is that of the Sacrifice of Iphigenia. Iphigenia, the daughter of Agamemnon, who is at the left, is being carried away by two men, probably Ulysses and Ajax, to be sacrificed to the goddess Artemis. Agamemnon's grief is too great to portray in the features, and the drawing of the cloak over the head, thus sparing us a picture of such deep human sorrow, recalls to us Greek delicacy and sympathy, and in fact this subject was treated by a Greek artist in the Fourth century B. C. and the present picture may be but a copy. Calchas, a seer, is the other personification. He stands as though

strangely perplexed over the tragedy about to take place although it is his prophecy that is now to be fulfilled. We see Artemis and a nymph in the background leading a deer which is to serve as the real sacrifice. This picture has all of the characteristics of a sculptured panel. The figures are quite like sculptured subjects and the whole seems almost to be a relief transcribed into painting. This is a characteristic of a number of the Pompeian wall decorations and shows the unmistakable Greek influence.

Roman portrait painting we are told attained considerable excellence but most of the examples we now possess are of the Greco-Egyptian character previously noted. Roman artists seldom went beyond the simplest effects of light and shade or the most rudimentary knowledge of perspective, and according to our present-day view their paintings do not reach any very high level in either execution or subject. Like many of the sculptures, we feel them to be the work of a skillful and thoughtful artisan rather than an inspired genius. There is a point we *must*, however, hold in mind in judging these pictures, which is that they were intended for wall decoration, not as detached pictures to be hung on any wall regardless of space or light. Their place was in the Roman houses where the light was subdued and the effect probably far more charming than we at first imagine, for the

harmony of their color schemes and the balance of the composition are perfectly suited to such purposes.

We have already seen that the art of decorating in mosaic was developed to a limited extent among the Orientals. We have no record of its early use in Rome but almost every house in Pompeii and Herculaneum contained mosaic pavements or wall friezes. The so-called "Battle of Alexander" found in Pompeii in 1831 in the Casa del Fauno (House of the Faun), is most interesting. Fine specimens of Roman mosaic have been excavated in Africa, France, Spain and England. The art came into great popular use in Alexandria under the Ptolemies and was first introduced into Rome early in the Second century B. C. The earlier Roman mosaics are varied in color and in the form and kind of materials used. Some of the stones are small cubes, others for more elaborate decorations are of various sizes and shapes, often long, narrow and irregular, the use of which resulted in the near approach to the general effect of painting and gave much more freedom of expression than the regular rectangular stones. The majority of the mosaics were patterns in geometrical design or conventionalized subjects; only a few of the more elaborate depicted scenes from Greek mythology or Roman history. All are interesting to the student of ornament, many to the

student of history, but none of them can be justly classed as great works of art.

The art of the lapidary was carried to a fine point of perfection in Rome as well as in Greece and gem engraving became very popular among the Romans, who valued the stones for beauty of color and rarity aside from the interest given them by the art and skill of the engraver. Cameos were used not alone for rings, pendants and personal adornments, but many of the larger ones ornamented vases and large metal vessels and trays. Among the most popular stones employed were the carnelian, red jasper and striped sardonyx. The cameos were generally carved in low relief because the different colored layers of material gave the desired contrast without deep cutting. The amethyst was used for very high relief.

There is in the British Museum a most interesting treasure known as the Portland Vase, the decoration of which is developed in exact imitation of cameo cutting upon a precious stone. The vase is in reality made of two layers of glass, the inner blue, the outer opaque white. The outline of the design on the latter was carefully cut away and the white glass remaining was carefully engraved. There is on one side the figure of a woman sitting on a rock with a sea monster at her side. She is stretching out her hand to a man who is being led toward her by a flying cupid. Poseidon,

the sea god, is watching the scene from the right and the background is formed by a Doric building, an olive and a fig tree. The other side of the vase shows us a sleeping woman watched over by a man and a goddess. The two scenes are probably intended to image the wooing of Thetis, a sea goddess, by Peleus, and Peleus watching over his sleeping bride, with Aphrodite looking on as a presiding divinity. On the base of the vase is the bust of Paris in relief.

Both the painter and the sculptor of each period of Roman art supplied the gem engraver with subject and style and so we find stories from mythology and history and copies of sculptures, and these engraved gems have aided in restoring lost parts of many ancient masterpieces. The Roman love of portraiture naturally asserted itself in cameos but we find numerous examples portraying other than contemporary deities, such as portraits of early Greek philosophers and writers. Again we find strange subjects such as combined animal and human forms, and such stones were probably used after the manner of Egyptian and Assyrian amulets, to ward off evil or invoke the blessing and protection of some spirit. We know that Eastern superstitions and rights crept into and mingled with the composite religious beliefs of the Romans. The inscribed cameo was a later invention. Some contained various love themes quite

like our modern valentine, others were bits of wisdom dictated by some sage or seer as a warning, an inspiration or a prophecy.

We have already spoken of Roman metal work in connection with sculpture and hinted at the important place it occupied in Roman art. In the palaces and the homes of the wealthiest families of the Empire were entire vases of precious metals, taking the place of the pottery used in poorer households. There was a large group of engravers and workers in metal in Asia Minor, and in Alexandria was another school of metal workers whose influence was felt, though to a less extent. The majority of the ornamented vases were of silver and the methods of decoration were repousse work, chasing and attached reliefs. A great collection of metal treasures was found near Pompeii in 1895 and purchased for the Louvre. The silver vessels and vases were probably treasures of wealthy Romans at the time of Augustus. The drinking cups, mostly made in pairs, are particularly remarkable for their form and decoration. The decoration of one pair seems to be a satire upon human life. The designs are original, remarkably well balanced, and the figures stand out clearly and are interesting both in technique and composition. This Pompeian collection includes specimens of eating vessels, bowls and jugs, and a few ornamental mirrors.

There are in all the Roman minor arts many replicas and copies, things almost unknown in Greece. Many of the terra cotta bowls and vases are exact reproductions of the metal work, again showing, as in the painting and sculpture, the desire of all the people to possess at least good copies of the masterpieces which only the wealthy could afford for their homes.

Among the objects, always of interest because of their intimate association, are the Roman lamps of terra cotta and bronze. The oldest found date as far back as the beginning of the Third century B. C., but they did not play an important part in Roman households until Rome became an empire, when they were extensively used in funerals and public ceremonies as well as in house decoration. The regulation Roman lamp was made up of four parts, the body that held the oil, the flat circular top, the spout for the wick and the handles, which were occasionally omitted.

The earliest lamps were undecorated, later they were quite elaborate, often modeled in the form of an animal or head, or when a simple shape was used, a head or other decoration was attached. The flat top received the decoration and in some instances the handle was decorated with geometrical projections upon which an additional design was placed, such as a leaf, a flower or possibly the head of a deity. The artistic value of these lamps

is not particularly great but if study is given to a series such as is to be found in most large museums, you will find that they show the tendency of the age to reproduce in the objects of use the designs and subjects found in greater works. They really throw light upon the ancient Roman life and religion. The scenes depicted are usually mythical, occasionally there are historical incidents and references to literature, such as Diogenes in his tub, again the games, the gladiatorial contests and the circus furnish themes and we find in their decoration many clues to the life of the times, for they seldom represent the masterpieces of art as do coins and gems, but like Greek vases the decorations are more popular and intimate.

We need say but few words concerning Roman pottery. It is inferior in nearly all respects to the Greek vases which we found in the best period to be most artistic both in form and decoration. The Greeks rarely made mere copies or repetitions and hence their vases call for more than merely skilled artisans to create them. Roman pottery required the skill of the potter only as the processes used were largely mechanical.

The red glaze of the Roman pottery, as it was secured by a special process, applied to the surface instead of being a part of the clay body. It is a brilliant red, so fine and so deftly applied by dipping the vase into the red liquid, that it does not,

like modern glazing, interfere with any outlying decoration. The vases were made on the potter's wheel or moulded in order to produce the relief decoration. First a stamp was made from which the design was pressed into the mould, then the mould was made ready and the clay pressed into it, while the body of the vase was either modeled by hand or on a wheel. The moulded design was attached to the body, the foot and rim added, and the whole coated with the red glaze and fired. Handles were occasionally attached, though the majority of the Roman pottery found, is without handles. The Romans used larger vases principally for storing liquids. The smaller jars with spherical bodies were originally cooking pots but many, carefully moulded and decorated, were put to other uses, such as hoarding money and jewelled treasures and even as cinerary urns in tombs. Smaller vessels were for wine or oil and many of the so-called vases which were ornamented in relief were really drinking cups and bowls. The typical Roman pottery with the brilliant red glaze is known as the Arrentine ware, as the city of Arrentium in Etruria was for long the center of pottery manufacture. Other pottery of the time found in the provinces is not truly Roman. It is characterized by its fine, close grained red clay, harder than the Italian, and by a deeper red glaze. The decoration is coarser and is seldom well executed.

The centralized strength of the Roman Empire came at a time when the ancient world was utterly exhausted by a continuous series of wars. The result was nearly two centuries of comparative peace and tolerable rule which brought to the imperial city and the provinces a more equal distribution of burdens. The result was order, and security, wealth and prosperity flourished as never before.

The continuous decoration of the cities in all the provinces is one of the most obvious proofs of this prosperity. Public opinion not only expected but demanded great public service from the rich. Temple porticoes, amphitheaters and bridges were provided by the wealthy. Cities were permitted by law to receive legacies, and bequests for public buildings were common.

This passion for architecture created a demand for all of the arts used in exterior and interior decoration. Buildings were surrounded wherever possible by formal parks and interior courtyards were adorned with fountains and gardens. The stone carver, the metal worker, the painter and mosaic worker were in constant demand. Pictures, mosaics and statues were considered as necessary in private homes of any pretension as were furniture, hangings, carpets and gold and silver plate.

The excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii have shown that ornamentation was con-

sidered a prime necessity even in the most modest households, for all grades of society had developed a taste for art and apparently art productions were in use in far wider circles than at the present day.

The popular demand was satisfied by the use of plaster and stucco for busts, bas-reliefs and other decorations, in place of the marbles and the alabaster used in the palaces, and where stucco and plaster were used they were usually colored to represent marble. Wall paintings were also common. Painters and other art workers were attached to all the great houses and given special privileges.

Cremation was the rule in the days of the Republic and the earlier days of the Empire and the universal desire for beauty is shown in the funeral urns of all sorts of materials for the ashes. Even those of clay were beautiful in outline and elaborately decorated.

“Art was a means.” It was applied to make home and city more beautiful and splendid as well as for recording all sorts of events. Mere beauty such as satisfied the Greeks was not enough for the Romans. It must be of some sort of service to satisfy the practical Roman, even at the time of greatest luxury.

Pictures were painted to inform the populace of great events. Some on wood and linen were carried in triumphal processions to make clear the details of great victories. Gladiatorial

combats were advertised by means of pictures. Pictures of alleged or actual crimes were used in the law courts. Beggars appealed to public sympathy by means of pictures. Portrait painting flourished.

Art under the Empire was carried on in many instances not as a profession but as a well organized manufacturing industry. The erection of buildings and the execution of important artistic works were frequently handed over to contractors, sometimes artists themselves, sometimes only the employers of artists. Competition was invited and the work given to the one who promised the best and quickest results at the lowest price, and the price and time required were given the chief consideration in letting the job. This resulted in specializing and division of labor, many men working on the same undertaking side by side.

The searcher after intimate knowledge of olden times is continually confronted with difficulties. The chief sources of information are the literary remains of contemporary writers and these very sources of information offer the reasons for many of the difficulties. The writers were interested either in things of the imagination or what they considered things of large import.

Literature in that day did not interest itself to any appreciable extent in the commonplace events of everyday life. We have come to

know that those intimate details are the very things which give the clearest insight into the genius of a people. Take for example the whole subject of finance and money among the Romans. No writer considered that of enough importance to give any connected account of it. Our meager knowledge is gained by an occasional legal reference, a personal letter or some such casual comment.

There were treasures in the temples which were considered the property of the nation, there were systems of taxation and tax gatherers, there were changers and lenders of money, for there were laws against usury. Trade in the city booths and shops was carried on with metal money, but in the country it was a matter of exchange of things, and in large transactions of any sort it was again a process of bargaining for the actual transfer of goods and chattels.

We know nothing of their methods of credit or banking and in all probability their methods in these things would seem woefully primitive to our business college students. To-day a man's wealth is almost entirely confided to others and is represented by various bits of paper, such as certificates of deposit, notes, stocks, bonds and mortgages. Then a man's possessions were possessions in fact; tangible things in the care of members of his own family, freedmen, or slaves whom he controlled. The present day systems of national and

international exchange, based on credit, were not even dreamed of.

The Romans had a national coinage as far back as history tells us anything about their mode of living. The first Roman coin of which we have any knowledge was called the *aes*. Copper was common in Italy and the natives had early learned to smelt it. They combined copper with tin, making bronze, and of this metal the first coins were made.

The first *aes* were cast in square or oblong shapes, weighing from nine to twelve ounces. A coin of twice this weight would obviously have twice the value and vice versa. Next a round *aes* was developed. This was reduced in weight from the square pieces, the first real coin, as we understand the word, weighing half an ounce. These first coins were stamped with the head of Janus or Minerva or with a bull, sheep, sow or fowl, all of these animals having some sacred significance.

While the *aes* retained its original standard, it served not only as a medium of exchange but as a means of assessment and social distinction. The five classes of Servius Tullius were required to possess a graduated property qualification of from two thousand to twenty thousand pounds of bronze.

The earliest silver coinage, which came next, was borrowed in style from the Greeks.

These coins were stamped with the head of Janus, or a figure driving a chariot, and all bore the word Roma. These pieces were called denarii and were followed by quinarii and victoriati, equaling one-half and two-thirds of the denarius respectively. Long after the introduction of silver money the *aes* of bronze was still used, particularly in the more remote provinces.

During the early history of Rome not only were coins struck off by rulers but each gens or family of importance minted coins containing their names, or impressions of legendary or historic incidents connected with them. All the coins were, however, of uniform weight in each denomination.

The first denarii were minted in the Third century B. C. and were made to conform in weight to the Greek drachma, which was probably as much used in Rome in early days as the native coinage. Gold and silver money of higher denomination appeared later and is presumed to have been made necessary by the exigencies of war, as the first of these coins of which we have any knowledge seem to have been made at the time of the campaigns against Hannibal.

As time went on, coins ceased to be adorned with religious subjects and were stamped with the heads of emperors and generals and these furnish what are really among the best portraits of the rulers and leaders of the time. As the govern-

ment became stronger and more centralized the monetary system evidently became more exact. The *aes* was still in use, though much reduced in size and value, and was the only one subject to the authority of the senate. The silver and gold coins were minted in the temple or under private initiative. The name *moneta* was given to their silver coins by the Romans because they were made in the temple of Juno-Moneta in 296 B. C. The derivation of our word money is obvious. The coinage changed with every change in government but as its value was based on the weight of the metal, a previous issue did not become worthless when a new one was put in circulation.

The Decline and Fall

THE early religion was formal, literal and inflexible and supplied little to satisfy either devotional or mystic cravings. Unlike the Greek it could not expand or accommodate itself to new conditions or higher national development and was "little calculated to satisfy the generations which had come under the spell of Greek philosophy." Both the paganism of Rome and of Greece was a paganism of the intellect; it represented the effort of the larger minds of the time to answer the ever present problems of life and death, but the paganism which really stirred devotion and appealed to the emotions of masses of individuals came from Persia, Egypt and the East.

The intellectual creeds of Greece and Rome did not stimulate devotion as did the emotional beliefs of the Orient; these, based on mysticism, aroused and cultivated intense emotion and feeling. Our knowledge of these beliefs is not clear or detailed but we know that they offered relief to the troubled conscience by expiation and

baptism of blood and in some way an assurance of life beyond the grave.

All these cults so prominent in the last generations of Imperial Rome found their way to the city long before that time. Foreign slaves, foreign traders, foreign teachers and travelers were ever introducing and discussing, new beliefs and thus several of these beliefs had a considerable following in the century before the Christian era. There was always at Rome a large tolerance of all creeds.

The worship of the Egyptian Isis had large influence during the whole Imperial period. The ritual in many ways corresponded to our present day conception of devotion. There was some sort of an order set apart by consecration to worship and spiritual guidance, the members of which were distinguished by a tonsure and peculiar costume. Initiation into the organization was preceded by baptism and there were regular morning and evening services.

The belief which exercised the most powerful attraction, in the final struggle between paganism and Christianity in old Rome, was that of Mithra. It was at first a sun worship of Persian origin, the central idea of which as finally developed was of a supreme power who was all pervading, who conquered the spirits of darkness, led souls from the underworld and gave peace by puri-

fication. This central idea was surrounded and elaborated by a ritual and symbols which seem grotesque and impossible to us until we call to mind that at the time this was the best they knew. We should also bear in mind that what the worshiper finds in religion depends upon what he brings to it.

Christianity is said to rule the civilized world and to-day we are not only confronted with a wide divergency of belief among Christians but a painful failure in performance in accord with its simple principles, yet we have had the benefit of almost two thousand years of Christian teaching. There is fertile opportunity for investigation into the superstitions, the fanaticisms, the complexities of good and ill in the mental and religious life of our own times.

The best proof of the strength and vitality of polytheism is the fact that it was able to hold its ground for centuries against Christianity. The early Christians did not dispute the powers of these gods of the pagans or deny the miracles attributed to them, but they looked upon them as demons or lost angels, powers of darkness permitted by God to influence or lead men astray. Even most of those who attacked the ancient beliefs recognized them to this extent.

There was belief in presages, portents and divination among both the educated and unedu-

cated but astrology was in the highest favor among the upper classes, and these predictions were given great credence in the first centuries of the Christian era. Many of the early Christian writers seriously discuss the supernatural power of these diviners and astrologers, assigning it to the influence of the powers of darkness.

A casual reading of the early Christian writers permits no doubt of the belief in dreams. The most eminent men recorded that their actions were influenced by visions and dreams and that they were prompted to important undertakings by them. The list of those who bear testimony to this guidance contains the names of emperors, generals, philosophers, writers and physicians, and many accounts are extant of the cure of disease from prescriptions or suggestions received in dreams.

The use of prayer was general even by those whose lives were least attuned to proper prayer and there are numberless monuments and inscriptions of a religious character scattered throughout the Empire which alone would prove the existence of a sincere and deep seated belief in the beneficent power of the gods.

There is no question that many confounded the image with the god, just as was done in Greece. There are curious instances of disappointed supplicants who not only cursed the gods

for not granting their prayers or fulfilling their wishes, but went further and stoned their images or entirely disestablished them by throwing them out into the street. The exact extent to which popular belief identified the god with the image cannot be determined.

In general, polytheism was sufficient for the religious needs of mankind in ancient times, and in order to satisfy the infinite variety of man's religious tendencies, it split up into a variety of forms corresponding to the countless demands made upon it. The difference between the various forms of polytheism in ancient Rome is paralleled to-day in the different denominations among Christians, all diverging from the same fundamental principles.

The religion of the times seems to have had but little direct application to morals. The attention given to the services of the gods seems to have been slight and based upon the barbaric fear of the consequences of neglect. The whole, a worn out superstition which still commanded some attention through vague fear of the possible consequences of neglect rather than because of any impulse toward morality or appeal to reason. This carelessness and neglect had steadily increased, particularly among the upper classes, so much so that some of the writers of the time confess to lack of clear knowledge of the old beliefs.

The entire literature of the ancient world constantly reminds us that philosophy, morality and religion were intimately connected terms in the minds of the classical writers. Everywhere among the old writings there is evidence of the existence of a belief in the moral order of the universe based upon and maintained by the will of the gods. The gods were worshiped and invoked as protectors of the same laws which, according to legend, they themselves frequently broke. The thought obviously was that the latitude which the gods permitted themselves in regard to moral laws in no way presupposed their indifference to them.

The ancients did not receive their moral laws from without by revelation but were compelled to develop them from within by philosophy. The truths they found were not brought to them to be accepted by faith. Theirs was no absolute truth founded upon revelation, for in their opinion the finest task for a thinker was the search for truth, so according to Socrates, knowledge was the basis of all moral action, ignorance of all vice.

The ancient philosophers had no conception of the doctrine of original sin and for their wise man, the man who knows, the evils which confront humanity were powerless. He alone was most free who hoped for nothing and feared nothing and their whole theory of happiness was based

on renunciation. The essence of their thought was a preparation for death, the fear of which, so common to all humanity, they overcame not by any hope in the hereafter but by dwelling on the small value of present earthly existence, and the wise man would no more allow himself to be disturbed by sympathy than by any other emotion. These were Greek views which came to Rome along with other Greek learning but at first found little acceptance there, where leaders were men of action who would be bound to oppose any speculation or system of thought which would lead to indifference to the affairs of state.

The writers of the early Empire were emphatic in their disapproval of those who gave their time and thought to philosophy rather than to active affairs. Feeling was at first so strong against them that in the First century philosophers were repeatedly banished from Rome for turning the interests of the young men of the nobility away from the affairs of state, though they strove to prove that their teachings were not seditious. Contemporary writers even went so far as to severely criticise the emperor Marcus Aurelius for his studies in philosophy, one even having the temerity to write the emperor down as "the philosophical old woman." The majority of the nobility followed the lead of the court and philosophy eventually became so much the style that many of the women

of the nobility took it up and entered into the discussions.

The philosophers maintained that their example taught modesty and proper behavior and that the wise man would not set himself against proper authority or strive to fly in the face of established custom; that they could not advocate disorder, for it was destructive of the order and quiet necessary to the higher things of life.

The Epicureans, whose leader Epicurus founded a community in Athens, were the first to gain a following in Rome. Their leader taught simplicity of thought and action. He made little effort to account for the physical conditions around him but he believed that sensation was the only true test of reality and that we learn indirectly from ideas remaining from previous impressions.

The basic thought was that true pleasure necessitates freedom from pain of body and trouble of mind and the natural consequence of such teaching was that its followers would be led into excesses because of their belief that joy or happiness was alone to be secured through the experiences of the senses. Epicurus himself evidently foresaw this dangerous tendency for he insisted that prudence must govern the enjoyment of all sensation and that man cannot live pleasantly without living wisely, nobly and righteously. The teachings of the Epicureans are antagonistic to

science and to-day those who feel rather than those who reason are its intellectual descendants.

The Cynics, led in Greece by Diogenes, are of importance in the history of philosophy because their thought connects Socrates and his school with that of the Stoics and thus has had great weight in modern thought. Their basic thought was that virtue, not pleasure, is the true aim of man's earthly journey. They pointed out that social and civil connection should be shunned because they tended to be destructive of man's strength of will, so that the logical end of their teaching was strong individualism. Wealth and position were not negligible to them but were potentially harmful because of the possible danger of their influence against the requisite simplicity and austerity upon which they insisted. They set up the individual's responsibility as a moral unit, and its accompanying axiom, the absolute control of the will. The teachings of many of the Roman Cynics is hardly to be differentiated from that of the Stoics. Juvenal said that a Cynic differed from a Stoic only in his cloak.

Stoicism was the most complete of the ancient philosophies. It was born in Greece, but at a later date, so that it could take advantage of all previous teachings and it was in Rome it reached its culmination. It appealed to the practical Roman because its conclusions were tangible and

immediate. It divided knowledge or experience into three classes, physical, intellectual and spiritual. Its effort was to determine the numberless interrelations of these divisions. Its findings or conclusions regarding the phenomena of the physical world are of little value in these days of experiment and scientific knowledge.

The conclusions of the Stoic teachings were much in advance of everything preceding in regard to man's social relations. They gave little weight to external conditions of any sort, for they maintained that the wise man was free wherever placed. The school was founded by Zeno but Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius were its greatest exponents.

The essence of their ethical teaching was personal responsibility. They conceded that we are not responsible for ideas that come into our consciousness but they maintained that we are responsible for the way we use those ideas and that we must learn to accept events with intelligence. They insisted that there was no method by which man could secure his own good without contributing to the general good.

Stoicism was introduced into Rome in the later years of the Republic when prosperity had arrived and luxury and waste were beginning. The common religious teachings had little hold upon men of force and all were drifting into materialism

and self seeking. It cannot be too much emphasized that the Romans were a practical people, their minds given to practical things rather than to theorizing or speculation.

The stoical idea of a divine principle permeating all things, of the rule of law or reason, made a strong appeal to Roman intellectuals. They taught that Jupiter was the universal agent from which all the forces of nature were derived and that all the other gods and goddesses were parts or powers existing in him. This comprehensive idea accommodated at once both monotheism and pantheism. This was ordered and tangible, it made morality identical with law in the large sense of the word. There is undoubtedly a connection between this belief and the sound principles of equity and justice incorporated into the basic laws of the Romans.

This basic saneness is characteristic of those laws even during the absurd and horrid excesses of the most cruel of the emperors, and even during the times when talent was most wasted there are abundant evidences of a persistence of this quality. We are wont to dwell upon the splendor and luxury of Imperial Rome. The thought of it impresses the imagination, just as its remains fill the eye, causing the superficial to give it an undue importance. It is all interesting, even fascinating, but must not be given undue weight in judging the

value of their civilization. Their greatest contribution to human progress was their basic faith in the fundamental principles of justice which have been incorporated into the constitutions of all civilized nations.

Stoicism came to be in high esteem and those who wished to make a mark for themselves were zealous in displaying their interest. Its teachers were high in the counsel of the Empire, many of them being nominated to important positions in the city and the provinces. But there was constant friction between the philosophers and those who deemed philosophy unnecessary if not a positive evil. The essence of the difficulty was inherent and is one of the many interesting parallels between conditions then and now, for was it not an example of the never ending friction between the practical man and the theorist? At the other extreme of society there was another set of antipathies. The uneducated masses, measuring ability and success by riches and position, saw no good in those who affected to despise those things.

So different social circles were opposed to philosophy; natural conservatives because of conviction, mediocre men because they were incensed by anything that was intellectually above them, men who advocated other forms of education because of selfish interest, as well as those who decried any sort of education. The attitude of these

and others to-day shows that human nature has changed but little in two thousand years.

All this opposition goes to prove that the philosophers were providing a needed stimulus and until the coming of Christianity their teaching was the only check on a luxurious and materialistic age. Later Roman writers recognized this and in the Third century the education of the young men of the better families was not considered complete until they had studied some one of the philosophical systems which included physics and mathematics. The teachers of philosophy as a consequence came to have a considerable influence with the better class but not enough to leaven the mass of the population.

Cant and hypocrisy, ignorance and sloth attached themselves to the schools of philosophy as they do to all things human. Complaints were made that there were those who taught restraint and self-denial and enriched themselves by their teaching, that others assumed the simplicity of garb and manner of speech of philosophers as a cover for all sorts of self-indulgence. Others, advocating simplicity of habit because they were too lazy to work for a living, wandered about unkempt and dirty like our tramps. Many writers emphasize this somber side of the picture.

The philosophers, by pure reason, raised themselves to a high conception of men's rights

and duties and while both the leaders of Greek and Roman thought taught what we have learned are the basic principles of proper conduct, the later Roman leaders of philosophic thought insisted that slaves should be regarded not only as human beings but as humble friends.

We have told of the tyranny, cruelty and luxury of the Imperial City but it was at this time, the laxity of which has been so emphasized, that there were developed without the inspiration of a revealed religion higher and purer views of personal morality than ever before in the world's development.

In spite of the philosophical efforts of the Stoics, there was no reconciling polytheism and monotheism. Both Jews and Christians looked upon the gods to whom the Pagans prayed as idols or evil demons, and Jews, Christians and atheists were equally abhorred by the Romans as enemies of true religion.

The spread of Christianity was from the very beginning greatly simplified by the spread of the Jews throughout the ancient world, for according to Josephus there was at the time no nation on the earth without a Jewish colony. There is no evidence that this Jewish emigration was particularly prompted at the first by desire for trade, though by the Fourth century a large proportion of the Jews in the foreign colonies were merchants and

traders. The Hebrews in the Roman Empire were not only free from restrictions but enjoyed important privileges and Hebrew communities had the right to administer their own funds and to some extent had jurisdiction over their own membership, but the distinctness of their customs and their contempt for other peoples bred prejudice against them in spite of their piety, harmony among themselves, and obedience to the laws. Their religion attracted a few in Rome but they made little effort to gain adherents. Both its distinctness as a revealed religion and its exacting requirements made them "a peculiar people" without friends or followers.

Christianity on the other hand had both the intense desire and the attractive elements which enabled it to overcome all obstacles, and the example of the Apostles drove converts to become missionaries. These early missionaries accepted the words of the Master and the poor gave away what they had and devoted themselves to preaching the gospel. The great appeal of Christianity was its promise of the forgiveness of sins and life everlasting, for among even the best educated of the Romans the philosophical hope of a life beyond the grave was not founded upon religious conviction, and was subject to denial by other philosophers.

The tolerance which had been extended to the Hebrews could not be accorded to this new

sect, which was ceaseless in its attack upon all other forms of belief. Attack incited attack and the attitude of the Roman state soon changed from tolerance to self-defense and then to active aggression. Refusal to worship the gods might be overlooked, but refusal to worship the emperor, combined with effort to get others to do likewise, was treason punishable by criminal law and the courted punishment was not lacking, though at first slow in being generally enforced.

Public opinion was from the beginning hostile to the Christians. They were despised from the beginning by the educated because of their humility and ignorance of every refinement and adornment of life. The strictness of their life was an ever present criticism of the laxity of paganism and the eternal damnation which they preached was of itself cause enough for antagonism.

The Roman religion was the growth of a thousand years; for a thousand years the gods had watched over the destinies of Rome and is it to be wondered at that her inhabitants should resent the agitation of those who would not accept the religious tolerance freely extended to all, but must needs violently attack every other belief? Then too, the Roman religion was the basis and bulwark of the state and law and so interwoven with them that to attack the religion was to make a direct destructive attack upon the heart of the organism.

Truly, if one religion was to remain the other must be destroyed; there was no possible room for both.

This steadily increasing opposition necessitated secrecy of worship on the part of the Christians, which in its turn created hostility, for from the beginning of history secret religious meetings have aroused suspicion. In Rome there came to be general belief that the Christians engaged in hidden and horrible rites, excesses and crimes. This belief continually received fresh support from rumor and false confessions brought about by torture, and Christians came to be commonly known as "haters of the human race."

As the strength of the Empire grew less, through causes already given, the fear and hatred of the growing sect increased, for all the mounting misfortunes of the State were attributed to its members. The times were out of joint, there were wars, epidemics, poor harvests and famine. What more natural than to turn upon those who were so unwearying in their efforts to weaken what the majority considered the source of power? The easiest explanation was that the gods had withdrawn their favor from a people who failed to silence the attacks of a sect which so differed from anything which had gone before and whose leaders so courted martyrdom. Their courage in the face of death impressed with their obstinacy and fanaticism, not with their faith and conviction.

The early converts were without influence. The casual inquirer found little in the Gospels to appeal to those in positions of comfort. The promise of brotherhood and salvation was open to all but its appeal was to the "weary and heavy-laden." It offered consolation to the despairing and disconsolate, of whom there were a plenty in the society of that day, so that it made its first converts among slaves and women.

It brought to women a new feeling of importance, giving to them in equality of religious opportunity and responsibility, a new social value. It made them in their spiritual life the equals of men.

Such a creed, sustained with the faith and courage which it created, could not be denied. The morality and self-sacrifice of the Christians could not but win the admiration of thinking men who were forced to acknowledge that the new sect taught its followers "to act in accordance with the precepts of true philosophy"; but the insistence on humility and renunciation gained few converts among those who were possessed of worldly goods or who held positions of importance. It was not until toward the close of the Third century that the Christians began to make converts in noticeable numbers among the families of the ruling classes. Valerian, the emperor, addressed the senate in 258 to the effect that Christians of senatorial and

equestrian rank could be treated as were those of a lower order.

Constantine granted complete religious freedom, but it was not until the Fourth century that the word *paganus* (countryman) came to mean a heathen, which indicates that Christianity had finally come to be the established religion in the cities; then too, the countryman is the true conservative and clings the longest to the old order.

The annihilation of Paganism could not be complete for there were in it elements which could not be destroyed, based as they were on imperative necessities of mankind. These elements were incorporated into the new forms and ritual of the church. Not only did humanity's love of festivals force recognition in feast days, many of them falling upon the same days as the early pagan celebrations, but the span between man and divinity was too infinite to be easily bridged by finite minds and the glorious procession of saints and martyrs, "witnesses and servants of God," came to take the place of the lesser gods of polytheism.

We have shown in a preceding volume that the desire for beauty has ever been a controlling impulse with man. This constant urge for beauty added to the early Church all the wealth of decoration and liturgy with which she is now so richly embellished.

In these later days of the Roman Empire we are confronted with a society which was nominally Christian but which still drew its inspiration from pagan tradition. The Church, with the marked ability for combining practical statesman-like prudence with high ideals, began in the Fourth century to absorb paganism. St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine and St. Gregory all showed respect for pagan learning and the prevailing creed down to the present time is the one that was based upon their learning.

There is no possibility of the existence of a human society unless the association of the individuals which compose it is animated by some ethical ideal. When the ideal weakens the association weakens, and conversely when the ideal is elevated and strengthened the organization and its individuals are elevated and strengthened. Every wise man recognizes the necessity for the individual not only to combat evil but to do good, and this is just as positive a necessity for the state. The thoughtful reader finds this to be the greatest fact of all history. When a nation fails to live up to its ideals it weakens and unless there is a radical change its doom is sealed.

The Church was born and has endured through the development of an organization whose outline was traced by the Apostles. The Bishop of Rome eventually became pre-eminent among

the bishops. He was hardly distinguishable from the body of the elders at the end of the First century. The central position of Rome attracted missionaries to it and early enabled its bishop to exercise an influence above others. Rome was the capital of the world, what more natural than that it become the capital of religion? The gospel of Christ was an impulse of tremendous import which in later years had to be crystallized into form which would be of influence and service in organized society. It would have been impossible to gain proselytes to a religion with no external forms. Christianity had to have a ritual or cease to be.

The Church did not obtain at one stroke its present development, so normal development still continues under the influences which gave it birth. Unquestionably some of the rites of the Christian Church are of pagan origin, just as some of the laws of the Hebrews were taken over from the Assyrians, but those rites ceased to be pagan when accepted and sanctified by the Church. The institutions, the forms and the ritual which are indispensable to the continued and uninterrupted existence of a religion are of necessity modified by the individuals and nations who accept them.

Throughout the history of the mounting influence of Christianity it has proven its conquering force even while it has in nonessentials been modified by conditions with which it came in con-

tact. The vital point is not where certain forms of Christian worship originated but whether they are now thoroughly impregnated with the teachings of the Church. The organization of the Church is just as natural and necessary a development, for when even a few individuals are regularly gathered together in any branch of human effort, leaders stand out and assume their proper places.

When the ministry of the Apostles came to an end the duties of the local congregations became the care of local leaders and in Rome, with a background of centuries of incorporation and organization, the Church rapidly assumed an organized form despite ceaseless discouragement and persecutions. Thus the Pope eventually called himself Pontifex Maximus and this name to-day stands for the head of the greatest organization in Christendom as well as for a leader and judge among pagan priests.

Christianity did not break up or make over the old Roman life. Converts in Rome refused to be idolaters and worshipers of the old gods, but they did not for that reason refrain from sharing in public and private life or from taking part in the harmless things they had previously enjoyed. They continued the use of the language, the ritual, the yearly observations and the artistic symbols to which they were accustomed and which were a part of the community life.

St. Peter and his Church inherited all the good the Roman world could bequeath and the result was an adaptation of authority to doctrine, of symbol to spirit, unconquerable in majesty and vitality. No statement concerning the beginnings of Christianity in Italy would be complete that did not mention, at least briefly, the four great fathers of the Church.

First came St. Jerome, author of the translation of the Old Testament into Latin, now known as the Vulgate, to which he brought a large learning and a familiarity with classical literature.

St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, statesman-like and practical, increased the grandeur and magnificence of the Church service, particularly emphasizing music. He constantly maintained the power of the Church over tyranny, cruelty and slavery. His insistence on this power was the beginning of the temporal power later conceded to the Church.

St. Augustine first became notable as a lawyer at Rome; going to Milan he came under the influence of Ambrose and after many vicissitudes was baptized by him and was appointed Bishop of Hippo in Africa. His greatest influence was through his writing "Of the City of God," in which he contended that heathen Rome could persecute the martyrs but could not prevent the ultimate triumph of God's Kingdom.

St. Gregory the Great was educated as a lawyer and was for twelve years chief magistrate of Rome. He became a convert and on the death of his father he devoted his entire fortune to the poor, himself became a monk and turned his ancestral home into a monastery and hospital. On the death of the Pope the people demanded that he take the office, and after making every possible effort to avoid the honor he finally consented. Personally humble, he insisted upon the dignity and sanctity of his office. He instituted the celibacy of the clergy, rearranged the music and reformed the service.

Different historians have accented different causes for the final disintegration of the Roman Empire. The truth is that no single cause can be assigned, although any one of them would have eventually undermined the Roman civilization. We have already considered Christianity; we know that the barbarian attacks were constant from the time of Marcus Aurelius on, but in all probability the invasions of the Fifth century were no more powerful than those of the Third and Fourth, which were checked and rolled back by the Roman armies.

The Empire was not suddenly broken down by the external attacks of barbarians but it disintegrated by a slow process from internal causes. The combined effects of slavery and autoc-

racy insidiously sapped the vitality of Rome. The original stock was weakened and the distinction of Roman citizenship was gone. Municipal liberty and self government died out, great aggregations of wealth had created social divisions as fixed and insurmountable as those of Oriental caste so that every occupation and position was practically hereditary. The only progress was progress in poverty, from which the system of caste permitted no return. The incentive to laudable personal ambition was removed, as there could be no circulation among the different grades of life if men were compelled to follow the occupations of their fathers. Again and again edicts were promulgated compelling the return to their proper places of those who had deserted the duties to which they had been born.

Brigandage was rife, parents sold their children into slavery, the post roads were neglected, temples and public buildings lacked attention. By means of a curiously incorrect system of taxation the great middle class was practically wiped out and there remained only the large land-holders and their serfs and dependents. Added to the incorrect system of taxation there was continuous public and private rapacity. All who had the opportunity took, and fraud and greed were not only apparently triumphant but were considered necessary to so-called success in life, and there was

no power, political or spiritual, which had the strength to modify these abuses.

There was financial corruption in all classes. What is to-day known as graft was universal and there was a tangle of enactments dealing with all sorts of financial obliquity, official and unofficial. One wonders at the necessity for the laws and the failure to enforce them, until he thinks of the multitudinous laws of to-day and our laxity in maintaining them.

A great body of public servants incorporated into hereditary organization had charge of the various operations of bringing in, preparing and distributing supplies, and one of the most difficult tasks of the government was holding these men to the proper performance of their duties. The collecting of the various taxes was a constantly increasing source of financial corruption and blackmail. The small officials who had charge of the collecting and accounting were guilty of the grossest frauds, often combined with persecution and violence. All these and similar complaints were repeatedly made against the senatorial class, the class which above all others should have maintained the stern qualities which first made Rome great.

The provinces, far removed from the central power, were bled by all sorts of extortions and exactions. The subordinate officers frequently se-

cured great gains for themselves and were immune from prosecution because of distance from headquarters. Over and over again governors of provinces were called upon to check the oppression of the poor and to expose the misdeeds of the tax gatherers. They were commanded to visit the prisons and search out cases of miscarriage of justice. The law makers at Rome seem to have fully realized the conditions but to have lacked the personal character and executive force to dominate the situation and bring about any appreciable reform. The organization had grown too large, the intermediate officers too corrupt; those at the center, no matter how clearly they recognized the evils, no matter how good their intentions, could not check the increasing disintegration.

Judged by contemporary writing, the invasions of the Fifth century did not attract any marked attention in Rome. Various reasons were assigned for the misfortunes of the Western Empire, but none of those who wrote on the subject seem to have been impressed by a premonition of the truth. The city had been so many times attacked and had triumphed over so many and such varied disorders of tyranny, fire, pestilence and war that there is no record of any expectation of an ultimate eclipse.

Many things were blamed for the condition; declining political skill, anger of the old gods

because of the desertion of their altars, punishment for luxury and excess were all given as causes. The attacks of barbarian hordes were not new experiences. There had been constant pressure from the barbarians for centuries past but the nation had apparently ever risen above them.

Invasions of the Fifth century were like those which had gone before and the blind faith in the never ending rule of Rome can only be accounted for by a strong belief in the continuity of a power which was unquestionably great in the past. Combined with this was the failure, common to the wisest men of all history, to properly interpret the signs of the times.

Even when the city was captured there seems to have been a quick recovery from depression and there is great difference in the old accounts of the extent of the destruction and pillage. In fact some of the writers of the time hardly hint that anything serious or unusual had taken place; the troubles are likened to those of other times which would pass, leaving a renewed vitality.

Nations like individuals pay the price for the offenses they commit against reason and morality. In the Luxemburg Gallery at Paris there hangs the picture that made the fame and fortune of Contre, which tells better than any words of the end of Roman glory, and explains why with a

loss of simplicity, ruggedness and austerity which came about when there was no longer the material need for struggle, the Romans as a people lost all originality and in seeking satisfaction and pleasure ceased wholly to create.

Contre calls his picture "The Decadence of the Romans." The scene is that of a feast in the court of a temple, during the last days of Rome. Men and women occupy the center of the picture in luxurious postures, faces brutalized with every kind of excess, while from metal cups they are drinking the wine that is destroying them. Looking upon them from their pedestals are the statues of old Romans who seem to rebuke them. In the corner of the picture we see real Rome departing, a group of men with hands raised to their faces in hopeless melancholy. There is just one touch of light and that is the glimpse of the clear blue Italian sky which we see in the distance between the columns.